

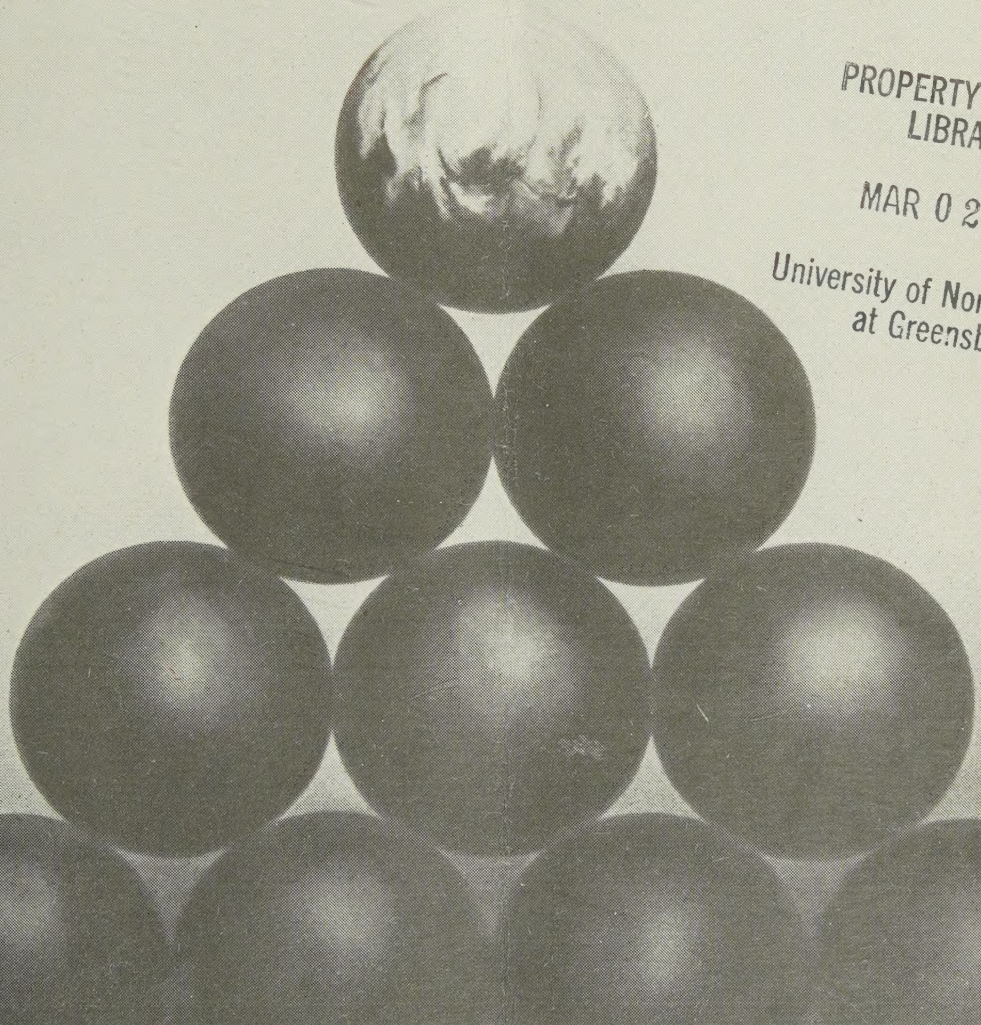
ERRORISM: RED HERRING
ACROSS THE TRAIL

NEW TIMES

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**THE WORLD IS TOO SMALL AND FRAGILE
FOR WAR AND POWER POLITICS**

International Forum in Moscow

**U.S.S.R.—CHINA. PROSPECTS
FOR COOPERATION**

**MELINA MERCOURI:
“I AM PART OF GREECE”**

1917-1987

Moscow. Vozdvizhenka Street. The reception office of Mikhail Kalinin, Chairman of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, is crowded with peasants from all parts of Russia. They have come to counsel with Kalinin.

The situation in the countryside was desperate. The backward industry was not supplying the needs of the peasantry. Conditions in the villages had sharply deteriorated. It had become increasingly clear that after the civil war the military and political alliance of the working class and the peasantry had essentially exhausted itself. This alliance had to be placed on a different, economic, footing; payment in kind had to be replaced by payment in money.

The entire economy had to be restructured so as to establish relations between the workers and the peasants that would be of benefit to both. The introduction of the food tax and trade on the open market made this possible.

The need for the food tax in place of surplus appropriation was quickly understood by the Party, but it took many Communists some time to appreciate the importance of market forms of commodity exchange. Might not the restoration of free trade also for the smallholders undermine the political power of the proletariat, they asked. Lenin's answer was firm and definitive:



No, it would not. Everything depended on the extent to which free trade was permitted and how it would be regulated by the state, he said.

On March 21, 1921, the decree replacing the surplus appropriation system with a food tax was adopted. Some members of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) left the Party in protest. A national Party conference was called at which the new economic policy was subjected to thorough discussion. The conference was addressed by Lenin who explained the reasons for and significance of this policy.

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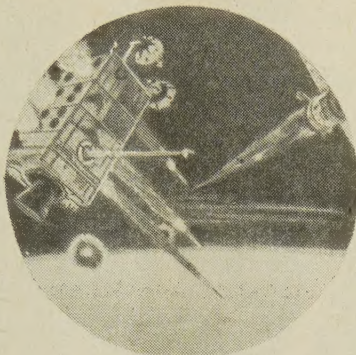
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Editor-in-Chief:
V. IGNATENKO

Associate Editors:

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Y. GUDKOV,
A. LEBEDEV,
A. PIN,
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Editor of English Edition:
E. Smirnov



"FOR A NUCLEAR-FREE WORLD, FOR THE SURVIVAL OF MANKIND" was the motto of the recent Moscow international forum of scientists, politicians, churchmen, businessmen and cultural personalities. Coverage and interviews by a team of New Times reporters.



HUMANIZE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Excerpts from **MIKHAIL GORBACHEV's**
address to the international forum in Moscow

ON THE WAR AND PEACE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

The development and subsequent stockpiling of nuclear weapons and of their means of delivery beyond all reasonable bounds have made man technically capable of terminating his own existence. The simultaneous accumulation of explosive social material in the world and attempts to continue tackling by force, with Stone Age methods, the problems of a cardinally changed world make catastrophe highly likely in political terms as well. The militarization of mentality and of the way of life weakens and even removes altogether all moral brakes on the road to nuclear suicide.

ON CHANGES IN THE U.S.S.R.

What are essentially revolutionary changes are under way in our country. They are of immense significance for our society, for socialism as a whole, and for the entire world. Only if one understands the content, meaning and purpose of these changes can one form a correct opinion also of our international policy.

It is often said—we still hear it—that there is some threat supposedly emanating from the U.S.S.R., a “Soviet threat” to peace and freedom.

The reorganization which we have launched on such a scale and which is irreversible makes it plain to all where we want to channel our resources, on what our thoughts are concentrated, what our actual programmes and intentions are, on what we propose to expend the intellectual energy of our society.

Broad democratization of the entire life of society is needed. That is also the main guarantee of the irreversibility of the ongoing processes. We want more socialism and hence, more democracy.

Our desire to make our country better will hurt no one, the whole world will only gain by it.

Our reorganization is an invitation extended by socialism to any other social system to join in peaceful competition. But for this competition to materialize and develop in civilized forms worthy of 21st-century humanity, there must be a new thinking, it is essential to overcome the mentality, stereotypes and dogmas inherited from a past that is gone never to return.

ON NEW THINKING

We reject the right of the leadership of any country, be it the U.S.S.R., the U.S. or any other, to pass the death sentence on mankind. We are not judges and the billions

of people are not criminals to be punished. So the nuclear guillotine must be scrapped. The nuclear powers must step over their own nuclear shadow into a nuclear-free world. And thereby end the alienation of politics from the universal norms of morality.

A nuclear holocaust would sweep away socialists and capitalists, the righteous and the sinners. Is this moral? We Communists do not think so.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF NUCLEAR DETERRENCE

No one considers nuclear weapons innocuous. But there are no few people who sincerely believe them to be an evil necessary to prevent a greater evil—war. It is this viewpoint that underlies the doctrine of nuclear deterrence.

Even if this doctrine is adhered to, it must be admitted that the "nuclear safeguard" is not foolproof or everlasting. It can at any moment become the death sentence to mankind. **The more nuclear weapons there are, the less chance there is of their "obedient behaviour."**

Essentially this is a policy of intimidation. Each model of behaviour has its inner logic. When threats are used as a political means, the natural desire is that in each case the threat be taken seriously by all. But for that the threats must be periodically backed by action. In the given instance, by the use of armed force. This prompts but one conclusion: the policy of deterrence, viewed in a historical context, increases rather than reduces the risk of military conflict.

When disarmament is discussed it is often contended that violence, the "instinct of war," is innate in man, and that this instinct is unalterable.

Such a view is unacceptable. Man at the threshold of the 21st century knows a great deal and can accomplish a great deal. For this very reason he must realize the need to demilitarize the world. We believe that such a world is possible and we shall do everything to ensure the ultimate success of what is perhaps the greatest social undertaking of our time.

ON SDI AND NUCLEAR TESTING

What makes the situation particularly dramatic is the threat of the arms race being extended to outer space. Should this happen the very idea of arms control will be compromised.

It is regrettable that continued American testing has put an end to our moratorium. Nevertheless our initiative was not wasted.

By our moratorium we showed that abstention from testing is realistic given the political will.

The Soviet Union will not abandon its objective of putting an end to nuclear testing and securing a drastic reduction in the stockpiles of nuclear arms, and eventually their complete elimination.

Why do some countries arrogate to themselves the right to invent and develop new weapons systems which, even if they are not deployed or used, threaten other countries and peoples? This problem goes beyond the bounds of national sovereignty. It is an international problem.

At present the national sovereignty of a state extends to the atmosphere above its territory. And every state has the unquestionable right to defend it from intrusion. Weapons in space would present a far greater threat. The aim of the plans to deploy weapons in space is to create a new instrument of blackmail against independent states. Is it not time, then, to raise on the plane of inter-

national law the question of banning the placing of weapons in outer space over the heads of peoples of other countries?

ON COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY

Our idea of creating a comprehensive system of international security, and our other initiatives, clearly show that the Soviet Union is willing and ready to renounce its status of a nuclear power and reduce all other armaments to a reasonable minimum.

The U.S.S.R. does not want anything it would deny others and does not seek even an ounce more security than, say, the United States has. But the Soviet Union will never agree to be placed at a disadvantage, to discrimination.

The Soviet Union will press for the most stringent system of control and verification, including international control and verification. There must be absolute certainty that the commitments are honoured by all. Could we not take the Soviet-American experiment at Semipalatinsk as a prototype of such control?

It is common knowledge that the U.S. has numerous military bases on the territories of other countries. We would like to have inspection access to these bases to be sure that no activity prohibited under one or another possible agreement is conducted there.

It would be better still to revive the old idea of dismantling foreign bases and bringing the troops stationed there back home. We apply this to ourselves as well. We have already taken the first practical steps. As you know, some of our forces are being withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic on agreement with our Mongolian friends. We have brought six regiments back from Afghanistan and we shall pull out the whole of our military contingent there at the earliest possible date. But there has to be reciprocity on the part of the United States and Afghanistan's neighbours, and international efforts are also necessary.

ON A HUMAN SURVIVAL FOUNDATION

A promising and noble idea has been expressed at your forum—that of setting up a Human Survival Foundation. Such an institution could be used for open discussion of measures to prevent nuclear war. The foundation could encourage research on burning international issues and contribute to the drafting of projects for resolving the global problems facing humanity, including the latest baneful diseases.

For our part, we will welcome the active participation—both material and intellectual—of the Soviet public in the work of such a foundation.

ON THE POST-NUCLEAR ERA

Nuclear weapons have in many respects moulded the image of the time we live in. Needless to say, their destruction would not mean a return to what was before.

Humanity will enter the post-nuclear age all the stronger for having overcome the nuclear sickness. It will be immune to violence and to attempts to dictate to others. At present international relations are crippled by the cult of force, by the militarization of the mind. Hence the imperative need to **humanize international relations**.

The realization that there must never be a nuclear war has matured. Let us then begin by taking the first major step—let us reduce nuclear arsenals and keep space weapon-free. Let us make use of the vantage-ground reached at Reykjavik and move on from there.

For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Mankind

A representative international forum took place in Moscow on February 14-16, with eight separate meetings of political, cultural and public figures, and scientists held within its framework.

"This is, perhaps, the largest-ever all-star assembly," a newsman accredited to the forum remarked, as he looked through the list of participants in the press centre on Zubovsky Boulevard in Moscow. "It will be wonderful if they succeed in finding a common language."

People of very different political, ideological and religious views met in Moscow to try and find points of contact, compromises, options and concrete recipes for curing the nuclear fever.

The forum was attended by ecologists, political scientists, public figures, businessmen interested in getting mutually profitable international cooperation under way, clergymen, artists and writers, medical experts and scientists. Common-interest round-table discussions were held behind closed doors. Thanks to the "news blackout," participants felt free to state their viewpoints with absolute frankness and without restraint.

New Times correspondents interviewed some participants at the various venues of the forum, between sessions and during panel discussions.

Scientists and Professional Men Meet

Irina Lagunina and Vladimir Galin report from Moscow's Kosmos Hotel where scientists, writers and artists had their meetings.

The scientists' meeting attracted nearly 250 participants. At their plenary sessions and working groups they discussed problems connected with a radical reduction of nuclear arms as the first step towards their elimination, questions of European security, SDI, and the situation as regards the ABM treaty. Scientists had done a great deal to bring home to mankind, in terms of facts and theoretical deductions, the catastrophic consequences of a nuclear conflict. The speakers at the round-table discussions stressed that world science should apply its genius and enormous potential to the pressing problems of civilization rather than devising ways of destroying it.

At their discussions, scientists (nuclear physicists for the most part) concentrated on two reports: one by Professor Frank von Hippel (U.S.) and the other by Professor Andrei Kokoshin (U.S.S.R.). Independently of each other, and using different methods, the two groups of scientists—Soviet and American—arrived at identical conclusions: nuclear parity can be achieved, without the slightest detriment to either side, at the minimum level, after a 75-95 per cent nuclear arms cut.

The scientists were unanimous in asserting that the ABM treaty should be preserved as an important prerequisite for international stability. They stressed that the treaty was intended to restrict ABM systems and thus to contribute to ending the arms race.

The American atomic physicist Theodor Tailor worked for the Pentagon under contract three and a half decades ago. His job was to calculate the impact of, and select the targets for, a nuclear strike to be dealt at the U.S.S.R. But now, at the round-table meeting, the U.S. scientist was discussing ways of preventing a nuclear holocaust.

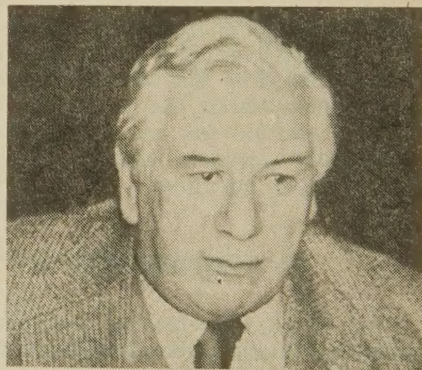
He hoped, he told us, that the forum would continue what had been started earlier: the movement towards understanding with regard to nuclear tests, SDI, and the joint actions necessary to eliminate nuclear arms once and for all. They were trying, he went on, and not in his opinion without success, to find solutions for the current problems and for those to come. It was clear already today that the life-and-death problem of the nuclear threat should be tackled immediately by a joint international effort. The coming century must be that of universal happiness, not that of the apocalypse.

An improvised press conference was held in a hotel lounge, with Dr Jerome Wiesner (U.S.), Professor Andrei Kokoshin (U.S.S.R.), Professor Joseph Rotblat (Britain) and Academician Andrei Sakharov (U.S.S.R.) attending. Academician Sakharov read out a synopsis of the statement he had made at the round-table discussion.

Between sessions we met with Academician Evgeny Velikhov, vice-president of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, a member of the forum's steering group.

It looks as if more has been said about peace lately than about love throughout the whole past history of mankind. In the course of this forum alone the word 'peace' has been uttered tens of thousands of times. What international effect do you expect the forum to have? Will you scientists prove able to suggest anything new to politicians?

"We are not trying to do the politicians' work for them. By virtue of their profession, politicians are supposed to know all about conducting international dialogues and negotiations. Nor did we intend the forum as a propaganda exercise. The idea is to discuss all the problems on our own first. Time will tell what world and government reactions to



PETER USTINOV, stage director, actor, producer, author. Oscar Prize winner (Britain):

The danger of weapons also lies in that they can be activated by mistake, by a computer error, for instance. Moreover, human nature is imperfect, and no technology can do anything about that in critical situations. I recall the collision of two ships—the Andrea Doria and the Stockholm—at sea. A leading American computer manufacturer told me at the time that both vessels had been equipped with the latest navigational aids and radars, which clearly indicated that the ships were on a dangerous collision course. He added that even the best of radars would not save lives if an idiot is in control. These words are most relevant today.

our discussions will be. After the forum, the minutes of the discussions and reports on the points of contact found by joint effort will be brought to the notice of governments, the media and the public at large. Hopefully, this will help disperse at least some preconceived notions and political prejudices. Altogether, we invited 250 persons to our round-table discussions. We would have been only too pleased to invite 2,500, but in that case they would not have had enough time to express their viewpoints and to hear those of others."

In the course of the last discussion, with newsmen permitted to attend, scientists considered setting up laboratories open to representatives of various schools of research. Needless to say, such laboratories will not be established in fields connected with national security and sovereignty, but the idea that they should be virtually all-embracing by the end of the century was approved by all the participants in the discussion. It was also decided to establish an international fund to finance the open laboratories.

The round table of writers and artists, which was held "next door" to the scientists' and brought together such celebrities as Graham Greene, Günter Wallraff, Friedrich Dürrenmatt, Peter Ustinov, Gregory Peck, Claudia Cardinale and many others, comprised three sections—"New thinking: the way to the salvation of the planet and the solution of global problems," "The role of culture in protecting civilization and human values," and "Creative endeavour and the protection of the environment."

The face of a tiny black-haired woman in a severe dark suit recalled the recent past to us. Her name is Yoko Ono.

Ms Ono, what do you expect of the future? How do you imagine it?

"Cooperation is the main word for our future. This is probably, why I believe it is possible to live on our planet in peace, without nuclear arms. I am one of the millions of people who believe in peace, in a future without wars, who believe that happiness and love are in store for us. And it seems to me that these ideas of mine are not at all out of the ordinary."

We found Chinghiz Aitmatov, President of the Issyk Kul forum and an initiator of this one, in the chair of one of the sections. We asked him what he thought of the forum.

"First of all, it marks a new level of thinking. We are not merely reiterating the old truths, but ascending to a new and higher plane. I have the impression that this is only the beginning of a great effort."

We drifted into conversation with the Palestinian poet Mahamoud Derweesh,

winner of many prizes, including the International Lenin Peace Prize.

"My people is a victim of aggression, it is a fighting people," he said. "Peace is no abstract notion to us. By talking about peace the forum's participants are contributing to the solution of the Palestinian problem among others."

The Italian pianist and conductor Maurizio Pollini told us he did not believe in a non-nuclear future. Asked why, he replied that he knew human nature and man's proneness to adventurism only too well. "But this is precisely why," he said, "we must do our utmost to prevent the world from committing nuclear suicide." "The idea of the forum is a splendid one!" Tibor Cseres, the well-known poet and prose writer and chairman of the Hungarian Writers' Union, shared this view. He said the writer's task was to inculcate anti-nuclear thinking in the people everywhere.

The U.S. writer Gore Vidal showed his characteristic sense of humour even when talking about serious issues. According to him, SDI is one of the best jokes in years. First of all, it will never work because it is scientifically unsound. Second, the U.S. owes two trillion dollars and, consequently, has no money to fund it. Just get it right: the U.S. Defence Department's function is not to make war against the U.S.S.R. or any other country, but to wring money out of Congress for the munitions industry and to finance politicians' election campaigns. So the Soviet people are absolutely safe, he believes.

"I can't accept the idea that the fate of the world depends on Washington and Moscow alone. It is fundamentally wrong from whichever angle you look at it," René Tavernier, the French critic, journalist and public figure, and president of the French Pen-Club, told us. "The fallacy of it is especially manifest in the cultural sphere. The cultural treasures of mankind include works by Czech, Hungarian and Polish authors, i.e., creations by smaller nations, although their languages are not widely spoken. As I have already noted in my statement, it is to the forum's credit that it has

JOHN GALBRAITH, Professor at Harvard University (U.S.):

"I am concerned for many years that either the Soviet Union and the United States have coexistence or would have no existence at all. I regard that a much higher concern than the differences we have in economic systems. I have said many times we must recognize that the great issue of our time is not socialism and capitalism, but militarism."



Claudia Cardinale: had women had the final say, they would never have let men build the atomic bomb.

brought together representatives of various nations, large and small, and drawn them into the general discussion."

Among those invited to the Moscow Forum were Ingmar Bergman and Astrid Lindgren. Unfortunately, we failed to find them at the Kosmos Hotel. It turned out that they had not come to Moscow. So we asked Dmitry Pogorzelsky, New Times special correspondent in Sweden, to clarify the situation.

"The day before a representative Swedish delegation left for Moscow," he reports, "the newspaper Dagens Nyheter carried an article by its Moscow correspondent Harald Hamrin who remarked, in passing, that Astrid Lindgren and Ingmar Bergman had refused to go.

"Why? Didn't they want to go?

"I failed to contact Bergman: the staging of Hamlet had left him exhausted, and doctors had prescribed him a rest cure. So he retired to the seclusion of his home on Gotland Island.

"However, I did manage to contact the famous authoress whose fairy tales are among children's all-time favourites on the phone.

"Most unfortunately, I couldn't go to Moscow," Astrid Lindgren told me. "Although I very much wanted to. My eyesight has deteriorated, and my doctors would not let me go. I hope the forum's participants will succeed in achieving good results."

Supposing you had gone to the forum, what would you have said there?

"Let me see.... Well, I would probably have said that we must make every effort for peace, that there isn't much one person can do, but hundreds of thousands and millions amount to an enormous force which can make those in control of nuclear weapons understand how hateful these weapons and

the nuclear policy itself are. Strong worldwide opposition to war and nuclear arms must be built up."

Politicians, Ecologists, Sociologists

Experts met for a series of round-table discussions at the Central Tourist House on Lenin Avenue. Alexander Polyukhov reports:

Although political scientists, sociologists and ecologists, who numbered roughly 170, had separate round-table discussions, several common themes came to the fore.

Most specialists are certainly seriously concerned about the state of affairs in the field of disarmament. What worries them are the political and military-strategic aspects of the present situation, which is characterized by a paradoxical combination of the widespread desire for deep cuts in nuclear weapons and conventional armaments, on the one hand, and the absence of any tangible results in this area on the other. Diverse opinions as to the causes of the protracted deadlock and ways and means of breaking it were expressed. Judging by the individual comments and conversations in the lobbies, many political scientists take a favourable view of the Soviet proposals on nuclear disarmament and the reduction of other types of weapons and censure the U.S. administration's "star wars" plans.

Rolf Björnerstedt, chairman of the Alva and Gunnar Myrdal Foundation, Sweden, and ex-chairman of the board of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), gave an interview in the interval between the round-table meetings of political scientists.

Do you believe a nuclear-free world is possible?

"The prospect is likely. The foreseeable alternative is to establish nuclear-free zones in different parts of the world. Latin America is a vivid example in this respect. Plans for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe are being considered. Their implementation could be vital in consolidating European security. Only recently agreement was reached on the denuclearization of the South Pacific. As I see it, such zones not only make many feel more optimistic but also help prevent other states becoming nuclear powers."

What conditions do you think necessary to advance from nuclear-free zones to a nuclear-free world?

"In the first place, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. must negotiate to bring their positions on disarmament closer by which I also mean nuclear disarmament. At such talks the issue of control must

EGON BAHR, M.P., security expert of the SDP faction (F.R.G.):

"I am not an expert on SDI, I think I'm an expert on security, and this means I think it stupid to go into space as long as we've not been able to solve our peace problems on earth. So, I've been in principle against the militarization of space. It could well be that the whole SDI programme will be more or less left after the present President leaves office.

"If the next President continues (with the SDI programme) then we will be faced with very serious problems concerning stability because I think that a mixture between offensive and so-called defensive weapons will be very dangerous, especially since nobody knows if the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative will be actually made a defensive one. Nobody can ... guarantee that this kind of weapons cannot be used for offensive purposes."

be resolved as I believe it is not infrequently exploited by opponents of disarmament to torpedo negotiations.

"In the second place, the role played by the nuclear arsenals of France, Britain and China should be discussed so that a way of drawing them in the reduction and abolition of atomic weapons can be found.

"In the third place, besides negotiation, it is essential to build up powerful public opinion to put pressure on politicians to make progress in disarmament."

Lawyer Stanley Resor, former U.S. Secretary of the Army, expressed the following opinion in his interview:

"I think what we should be doing now is devote our attention to what is possible in the next five or ten years, namely, to 50 per cent reductions in the offensive nuclear weapons and to application of the ABM treaty to new technologies. That is a pragmatic approach. In my opinion, we should work to produce real arms control and arms reductions."

The sociologists discussed in the main the applied aspects of the arms race. They noted the direct link between colossal military spending and outstanding social issues in different countries. They also emphasized the adverse impact of militarization and the nuclear threat on the human mind and the democratic institutions of society.

The ecologists also took note of the adverse consequences of increasing military activity for nature and the human environment. The meeting was sponsored by the board of a new movement called the ecoforum for peace, set up at an international con-

ference in Bulgaria last August. Environmentalists are especially disturbed by the potential ecological consequences of an atomic conflict on earth, which for the first time in history would place the question of humanity's survival on the agenda. Deep concern was also voiced about the unpredictable consequences of the use of chemical weapons. Several speakers linked the contemporary relevance of this issue with the recent disasters in Bhopal, India, and the Rhine basin.

This point was mentioned more specifically in an interview with Fatesingh Rao P. Gaekwad, president of the Indian branch of the World Wildlife Fund.

What problems do you think should be given particular attention?

We are most disturbed by the atomic explosions that continue to be defonated despite the protracted Soviet moratorium. Regrettably, the U.S. has already staged two tests this year. It is my conviction that nuclear energy should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Indian government has the approval of the majority of the population in the pursuit of this policy. But there are dangers other than nuclear. Nature and the human and animal environment are jeopardized by often runaway economic growth. The Bhopal tragedy is a striking instance. It alerted public opinion in India, and government control of the construction and exploitation of industrial installations has been greatly intensified.

However, we face many difficulties with which we have so far been unable to cope. I might note in this connection the felling of timber, which has upset the country's traditional pattern of rainfall. In many parts there is little rain which gives rise to more widespread drought. On the other hand, in other places rainfall has increased drastically, causing floods. Finally, we should note the complex demographic problems of developing countries, where the rapid population growth is creating constant pressure on the economy.

Nearly all the participants in the round-table discussions at the Central Tourist House believed that the Moscow meetings had given the opportunity for a more objective look at the multifaceted international situation and fresh approaches to the complex tasks ahead.

Doctors Diagnose the Situation

The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Medical Sciences provided the venue for the round-table meeting of doctors from 25 countries sponsored by a group of leading Soviet physicians. Evgeny Andrianov reports:

Doctors have termed nuclear war the ultimate epidemic, the last for civilization. Consequently, many leading figures in world medicine see the prevention of nuclear self-destruction as their professional duty. They have prescribed an immediate end to nuclear weapon testing as the most urgent prophylaxis.

Problems considered at their round table discussion included the medico-psychological aspects of the nuclear threat and nuclear war, the lessons to be learned from the Chernobyl accident, and the stereotype of "the enemy image" and fear as motivating forces in the arms race.

Prof. Karl Bonhoeffer from the F.R.G. had this to say: "One would like to give all the support in one's power to the new policy that Mikhail Gorbachev and your leadership have adopted. Naturally, the sponsors of the change in your domestic and foreign policies need positive results, as, indeed, does everyone. These can already be seen; the so-called "enemy image," the caricature of the Soviet Union propagated by the Western mass media is already beginning to crumble."

The task before physicians, delegates said, is to bring home to people the truth about the tragic consequences of the nuclear arms race. Doctors who daily receive patients and thus have direct contact with them can and must play a vital part in forming the new political thinking in this nuclear-space age.

After the meetings ended, I interviewed Dr Bernard Lown of the United States.

During your round table discussions much time was given to the problem of nuclear weapons. This is, of course, an important issue, but is it a medical one?

Should the arms race continue, should we fail to resolve the nuclear problem, there won't be anything to think of. The stockpiling of nuclear weapons may bring about a worldwide catastrophe in

which case there will be neither doctors nor patients.

How do you understand the currently popular notion of the "new thinking"?

As I see it, it means we can no longer employ obsolete methods to tackle the problems of the 21st century. What I like in Gorbachev's approach is the philosophical attitude to the relationship between present and future. Hence the top priority today is to halt the nuclear arms race. We may term the Chernobyl, Three Mile Island and Bhopal accidents as lessons, lessons for the whole of humanity. We don't need any more lessons of that kind.

Businessmen, Clergy

Below Vladimir Ovsyannikov reports from the World Trade Centre in Moscow:

Chatting with Mr Charles S. Bridge, vice-president of Litton Industries in California, I involuntarily glanced at other forum participants as they passed.

"Remember how Christ drove the money changers out of the temple?" smiled Mr Bridge. I felt we were both thinking the same thing, that businessmen and clergymen had congregated beneath the single roof of the "temple of commerce" to discuss issues common to all.

As a businessman, I think the way to confidence and understanding lies through trade, Mr Bridge said. We have long-standing ties with your country, with our machine tools in operation at the Kamaz truck plant, and we have sketched outlines for further agreements.

"The Problems of Peace and Business Cooperation" was the motto of a meeting of businessmen who discussed for the most part the prospects for East-West commercial and economic ties, and economic security.

Some 250 representatives of big companies, firms, banks and business offices from 25 countries took part in the debate. They met with top officials of Soviet ministries, departments and organizations. Special interest was shown in everything associated with the restructuring of the U.S.S.R.'s economic ties with foreign countries and the establishment of joint enterprises.

Eero Rantala who, as chairman of the Finnish EKA corporation, represented a country having vast experience of cooperation with the U.S.S.R., had this to say:

"It was a most useful and wide-ranging discussion. We have close ties with the U.S.S.R. and in principle support the initiation of joint enterprises in your country. As businessmen from other

countries asked many questions and made critical remarks and proposals, our discussions were indeed frank and businesslike. The information provided by the Soviet side was extremely interesting."

Mr Ryoichi Kawai, chairman of the board of directors of Komatsu Ltd., Japan, said:

"We see that restructuring is causing your society to open its doors more and more wide to the outside world. In Japan, the process is welcomed and carefully analyzed. Since last April's tenth Japanese-Soviet economic con-

NORMAN MAILER, prose writer, journalist and Pulitzer Prize winner, (U.S.).

I love my country, but I cannot say I am happy to see it so insistently assert that the U.S.S.R. is an "empire of evil." I cannot agree with the claim that nothing has changed here over the past 35 years. We see that the changes are tremendous. Openness has come as a great surprise to many in America. Academician Sakharov's return to Moscow has hit much harder at the Pentagon warmongers than any other event over the past few years. American right-wingers claim that the U.S.S.R. is monolithic, seeks world supremacy, and cannot tolerate dissidence. Every new expression of openness in your country knocks a piece out of America's concept of the U.S.S.R. as a monolith. Openness is a powerful argument against nuclear confrontation.

ference our contacts have unfortunately not seen as many positive changes as we hoped for. The drastic rise in the rate of exchange of the yen was partly responsible, as was Chernobyl, and some contacts were broken off."

Chernobyl and Reykjavik. These two words were on everyone's lips last year, proclaimed the Year of Peace, Canon Kenyon E. Wright, general secretary of the Scottish Churches Council, stressed at a briefing on the results of the clergymen's round table. Chernobyl, he said, showed everyone most forcefully how frail the gift of human life is when faced with the uncontrolled atom. Reykjavik gave us hope of a world rid of the threat of nuclear death.

The 215 clergymen from 56 countries and West Berlin represented six religious faiths — Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and Shintoism.

Theodosius, archbishop of Tokyo and Metropolitan of All Japan, is anxious about the future of the peace move-

A chat between sessions.



ment. He is dismayed by the egotism and satiated complacency that threaten people. However, what he thinks most dangerous of all is the often perceptible gap between the movement's militants and the hitherto large numbers of people who react only feebly to their ideas and objectives. As a clergyman, he believes the paramount obligation for himself and other church leaders is to invest all the power of their souls in their preaching of peace in order to reach out to the hearts of all. However stirring the call may be the most important thing is the day-to-day selfless effort for peace.

Everything in the world is connected and interwoven. Archbishop Theodosius could not of course fail to note



Petra Kelly, a leader of the Green Party, and General Gert Bastian (Ret.) from the F.R.G.

Photos by TASS and V. Galin

the impact of politics, especially that of the two great powers, on the sentiments of his congregation.

"Though we have a well-developed economy, we are most vulnerable," he said. "The peoples and, for that matter, the governments of the great powers simply cannot fully understand at times the psychology of such a nation as ours."

Does this mean that national psychology should be taken into account when remodelling relations between peoples along new lines, on the principles of trust, mutual understanding and kindness? How is this to be done? Paulos Mar Gregorios, Metropolitan of Delhi, said:

"Public opinion is the foundation upon which everything can be built today. Unless the people make a determined effort, governments will not be in a position to take the correct decisions. Hence the task before all informed people—scientists, politicians and cultural figures—is to bring home to everyone the truth about the threat overhanging the world."

The clergymen's round table meeting was the only one at the Moscow

forum to adopt a final document by a unanimous vote.

"The alternative of nuclear war is immoral and humanly unacceptable," their Appeal to Joint Efforts says. "We urge all people to commit themselves fully to the task of building the basis for common security today. Time has come for us to ask the ancient questions: If not me, who? If not now, when?"

What the Generals Think

Concurrently with the international forum high-ranking retired officers from Western Europe and the Soviet Union met in the offices of the Soviet Peace Committee. **Alexander Lebedev** reports:

The Italian General Nino Pasti rose to the highest NATO rank open to anyone other than a U.S. citizen. He was deputy supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe for nuclear affairs. Retired general Michael Harbottle was chief of staff of the United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus. Antoine Sanguinetti commanded all French aircraft carriers, naval bases and naval air forces. Other officers were also of high rank.

Their biographies have much in common, each having made a successful career. However there came a moment in the life of each when their sense of duty as generals and their professional belief in the force of arms came into conflict with their awareness of the entirely new reality that has arisen. This conflict struck so deeply that many were only able to resolve it in one way. At different times and in different situations these high-ranking officers have conflicted with the policy of the military establishment.

General Gert Bastian of the Bundeswehr resigned to voice dissent with the decision to install American Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe. Convinced while serving in Cyprus that the soldier could discharge an important function in peaceful mediation, without recourse to his gun, General Harbottle declined a higher appointment that would have placed him in command of the punitive corps in Ulster.

Or take the career of Francisco da Costa Gomes. In his time as chief of staff of Portugal's armed forces, he was elected the President of the republic and signed, with others, the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Today he is working vigorously for disarmament.

Former high-ranking officers from nine NATO countries have set up an organization which they have called Generals for Peace and Disarmament. They are unanimous in resolutely declar-

ing Clausewitz's definition of war as the continuation of politics by other means to be unacceptable in this nuclear-missile age.

While nuclear weapons exist, the risk of universal catastrophe is extremely great, General Harbottle said. Nuclear weapons and current tensions must give way to a system of interrelations and interdependencies between states that would make it possible to avoid disastrous consequences for humanity and to settle conflicts by political means. Arms, the more so nuclear arms, can no longer serve as a reliable means of security.

The former NATO generals are partnered by retired generals of the Warsaw Treaty countries. In the U.S.S.R. retired high-ranking officers have

JERZY KAWALEROWICZ, film director and honorary president of the Union of Polish Film Makers:

"I have come to Moscow because I believe the simple truth that each individual and mankind as a whole want to live in peace. In this respect the people of the art world, despite their apparent remoteness from politics, comprise a by no means negligible force. We are living in troubled times when the moment nuclear war is declared will be the moment in which it is lost. In this connection our forum is a voice for peace, and a most serious voice."

formed a public group known as Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament. Both groups of generals spent two days debating the central issue of how the military, who are more aware than anyone else of the destructive power of modern weapons, can help shatter conventional but today obsolete doctrines of military policy and develop a genuinely new approach to the issue of war and peace.

* * *

The Moscow forum has ended. Its press centre on Zubovskiy Boulevard in central Moscow is empty. The last cables have been sent. The three days of the forum were three days of intensive thinking, three days of brainstorming to find a way out of the nuclear arms insanity. A great deal has been done and as much remains to be done. What is important now is for the ideas the forum generated and, indeed, its very spirit to reach the widest public and political circles. Still more importantly, these ideas must be reflected in the activity of all who stand at the helm of state, of all upon whom the future of mankind depends.

New Times reporter team
coordinated by **NIKITA ZHOLKVER**

U.S.S.R.— SOUTH YEMEN

Firm Friendship

● A PARTY AND GOVERNMENT DELEGATION FROM THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN, LED BY ALI SALEM AL BEIDH, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE YEMEN SOCIALIST PARTY, MADE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION FROM FEBRUARY 9 TO 11.

The current year marks the twentieth anniversary of South Yemen's independence and of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the P.D.R.Y.

During his meeting in the Kremlin with Mikhail Gorbachev on February 10, Ali Salem al Beidh noted the importance of firm friendship between the P.D.R.Y. and the U.S.S.R., expressed his appreciation of the Soviet Union's support for the YSP's and Democratic Yemen's effort to defend national independence, as well as Soviet aid to this socialist-oriented country in promoting its economic growth and strengthening its defence potential.

These words are profoundly significant. Advance along the path of independent progressive development has been by no means easy for Democratic Yemen. I happened to be there as a newspaper correspondent shortly after the proclamation of the republic and the withdrawal of the British colonialists. It was a time of rejoicing in the victory of the revolution, of radical social reforms. But it was also a period of trial and error. In the provinces, "Soviet kolkhozes" sprang up cheek by jowl with "Chinese communes," and this in a country where slavery and slave trade had been common only shortly before. Some executives tended towards leftist extremism. The right-wing forces span a web

of counterrevolutionary conspiracy.

Last January, when the situation seemed to have stabilized and revolutionary reforms to have taken root, a fratricidal conflict erupted. Ali Salem al Beidh said that the party and the government were still busy coping with its consequences.

In the course of the visit discussions centred on a wide range of questions pertaining to the further development of Soviet-South

Yemeni cooperation and their approach to international issues. The final communiqué recorded complete agreement on virtually all the issues under consideration.

On his return to Aden, the YSP secretary-general made a statement on the importance of the talks. He said, in particular, that the agreements reached in Moscow mark a historic turning point in P.D.R.Y.-Soviet friendship.

DMITRY ZGERSKY



That film "Amerika" has got into the guy. He's still trying to make sure the Russians aren't coming.

Cartoon by V. Arsenyev

ZAIRE

Reanimation of Kamina

● AS THE "IRANGATE" INQUIRY CONTINUES, ANOTHER "TOP SECRET" OPERATION INVOLVING U.S.

WEAPON DELIVERIES HAS COME TO LIGHT.

This time the setting is the deserted Kamina air base in Zaire, once used by the Belgian colonialist administration. Over the past year U.S. C-130 and Boeing-707 military transport planes, bearing the insignia of a Santa Lucia Airways firm as cover, have touched down time and again to bring in weapons and munitions. The planes were received by an American black whom everyone called the Colonel.

The weapons were intended not for Zaire itself, but for a third country. Kamina was merely a transit point for airlifting them to UNITA gangs in Angola.

In a report from Kamina, New York Times correspondent James Brooke sheds light on a question that many asked themselves in 1985 after President Reagan's announcement of a \$15 million allocation for arms supplies, including Stinger missiles, to the UNITA bands fighting the government of the People's Republic of Angola. How had these weapons got to Jamba in southern Angola, where UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi has his headquarters? Though the easiest route would have been via South Africa, as Jamba is not far from the border, this could not be done, as there is an act in force in the U.S. that prohibits arms deliveries to that country. Although the incumbent U.S. administration often turns a blind eye to legislation, this time it was reluctant to break the law and ally itself too openly with racist South Africa against Luanda. Washington prefers to be seen to act independently of Pretoria.

Nonetheless, Savimbi got the Stinger missiles. Judging from the New York Times dispatch, the missiles must have come via Zaire. True, at the outset the operation ran into difficulty. Zaire has an agreement with Angola, by which the two sides have pledged not to tolerate any action hostile to the other

side in their territories. However, this obstacle was evidently circumvented: it can be easier to sign than to keep to an agreement.

Angolan President José Eduardo dos Santos has repeatedly accused Zaire of letting UNITA gangs make use of its territory to attack his country, especially the Cabinda enclave. Zaire President Mobutu Sese Seko denies this. If such things do occur, he claims, he has no knowledge of them, as the border between the two countries is so long that it is presumably impossible to control everything that happens in its vicinity. Could the aircraft mentioned have landed at Kamina without Kinshasa's knowledge? As if anticipating the question, James Brooke says: "President Mobutu's internal intelligence system keeps a tight control on activities here, and it is inconceivable that the arms supply operation could take place without his knowledge." However, the U.S. has other ends in mind too.

U.S. Air Force General Richard Lawson visited the Kamina air base on a tour of inspection in 1985, and some American engineers had inspected it earlier. Both the Pentagon and the State Department advocate modernizing it as they believe that "if renovated, the base could provide rapid access to southern Africa." In other words, the U.S. would like to exploit Kamina as a springboard from which to step up pressure on Angola and other frontline states.

This has been confirmed by a France-Presse news agency report of plans to conduct joint U.S. and Zairean troop exercises in April in the Zaire province of Shaba, which borders on Angola. These are the first ever exercises of the kind in Tropical Africa, and they are entirely consonant with the U.S. policy of neoglobalism.

YURI BOCHKARYOV

PACIFIC

One More "No" from Washington

● THE U.S. HAS OFFICIALLY DECLINED TO GUARANTEE THE NUCLEAR-FREE STATUS OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

The Rarotonga Treaty—so named after the island where the document was drafted—was signed by the 13 member countries of the South Pacific Forum (SPF) and proclaims the South Pacific a nuclear-free zone. It entered into force on December 11 last.

In the preamble to the Rarotonga Treaty the signatories declare that they proceeded from the need for regional measures to "contribute to global efforts to reverse the nuclear arms race." They also say that they view their decision as a move to implement such universal agreements as the 1968 treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, the 1971 treaty on the prohibition of the emplacement of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction on the seabed, the ocean floor and in the subsoil thereof, and the 1963 treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.

Should the U.S. have taken a definite stance with respect to the Rarotonga Treaty? Certainly. In the first place, this has become normal practice with respect to nuclear-free zones, inasmuch as their status can only have meaning if the states in possession of nuclear weapons pledge to respect it. In the second place, the Rarotonga Treaty has three special protocols attached to it, to be signed by the nuclear powers. The first of them is to be signed by Britain, the U.S. and France that are responsible for some of the territories within the zone to which the treaty applies, and which can then be consider-

ed nuclear-free. The second protocol undertakes not to use nuclear weapons against the countries signatory to the treaty, and the third protocol contains commitment not to test nuclear devices within the zone covered by the treaty. As must now be clear, all nuclear powers are to sign the second and third protocols.

The Soviet Union was the first to sign these two protocols on December 15, 1986. China followed suit on February 10 of this year. Britain has not so far committed itself, while France opposed the zone immediately, reaffirming its intention to proceed with testing at the Mururoa atoll. The U.S. too has now openly declined to sign the protocols, claiming that this would conflict with its perception of its security interests in the region.

The White House stand has come in for harsh criticism in the capitals of SPF member states. International law today does not allow for the unreserved rejection of initiatives and measures of the kind set out in the agreement these countries have signed. One imperative of international law is the principle of cooperation between states, especially for the maintenance of international peace and security. This principle is recorded in articles 1 and 2 of the U.N. Charter and is further elaborated in the U.N. Declaration on Principles of International Law adopted in 1970. The three treaties to which the SPF member states refer in the preamble to the Rarotonga Treaty exemplify such cooperation, the more so as all three were formulated with active U.S. participation. The Rarotonga Treaty is a concrete territorial application of both the spirit and the letter of the three treaties.

Consequently, the U.S.'s arrogant refusal to sign the Rarotonga Treaty protocols is illegal, incompatible with the commitments it has assumed according to the universally recognized principles of international law.

RAIS TUZMUKHAMEDOV

Nuclear Power, Phase Two

What, Greens in India? Environmentalists coming out against the detrimental effect of industry in a country that does not appear to be particularly highly industrialized, the more so as roughly 80 per cent of its population still work in agriculture?

"I understand your doubts," said Prof. Dharendra Sharma of the Jawaharlal Nehru University. "However, the very fact that our organization exists already shows that there is reason for it."

Prof. Sharma heads the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy founded five years ago. This public organization keeps close watch on the implementation of India's nuclear energy programme. It insists that atomic power plants should not jeopardize human health and that everything should be done to avoid accidents. Some members are opposed to the construction of atomic power plants altogether.

Countries that have thrown off the colonialist yoke have chosen different paths. India's strategy is one of consolidating political freedom by establishing economic independence, which would give the young republic room to manoeuvre within the world capitalist economic system. It has adopted a policy of industrialization by applying the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution. Inaugurating a parliamentary debate on the country's first five-year plan in 1951 Jawaharlal Nehru said: "If India is to advance she must advance in science and technology and must use the latest techniques. Our poverty is due to backwardness in science and technology, and by the measure we remedy that backwardness we create not only wealth but also employment."

India now ranks third after the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. for the number of scientific workers, of whom there are two million. It spends over one per cent of the GNP on research and development, and of this sum the state provides nine tenths. India's achievements in the exploration of space, the seabed and the Antarctic are an indication of its technological breakthroughs.

However, the road was not easy. Priorities were the subject of heated

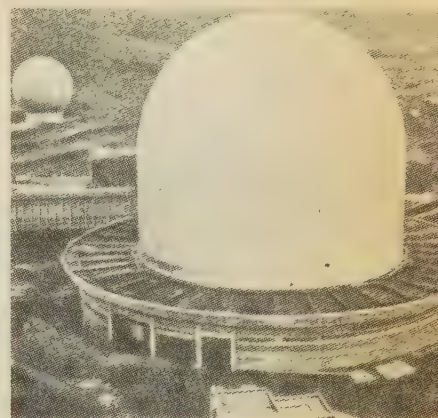
argument, especially with regard to power generation, in which area the country had to start virtually from scratch. It took the foresight of Jawaharlal Nehru in the late 1940s to set India's scientists the goal of using atomic energy to implement the national energy programme.

Was there any base to build on? As regards material facilities, there was almost nothing. But there was undoubted creative potential. India's national nuclear research programme was initiated by the illustrious physicist Homi Bhabha, the Indian Kurchatov, as he is sometimes called in this country. In the 1950s he pioneered fundamental research in the field. He already foresaw that his research could be of vital economic significance. The question of building atomic power plants was on the agenda even then.

Today the Indians say they have completed the first phase in their nuclear power development programme. The ten atomic reactors already built amount to a total capacity of about 2,000 megawatts. The country has now initiated the second phase of its national nuclear power programme. By the close of the century the output of atomic power plants will total 10,000 megawatts. In other words, by that time these plants will be generating a tenth of the country's total electricity output.

Indian engineers have designed 12 atomic reactors of 235 megawatts each. As a next stage they will design reactors of 500 megawatts each, ten of which are to be installed and activated before the year 2000. Research and development on these complex units, which until now have been within the powers only of industrialized countries, are being carried out at the recently built Dhruwa nuclear research complex.

At this complex, as well as at the Bhabha atomic research centre, Indian scientists are implementing a programme for the manufacture of diverse isotopes. There are more than 150 hospitals and medical research centres in the country that make successful use of isotopes for the early diagnosis and treatment of a range of tropical diseases. Four regional nuclear centres, to comprise an integral part of



The enormous dome crowns the Tarapur atomic power plant.

Photo from Patriot (India)

the country's agro-industrial complex, are to be built by the year 2000.

So what is worrying the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy? Its leaders remind the public in particular of the accidents at U.S. atomic power plants, the Chernobyl tragedy and the Challenger disaster, events that have demonstrated that even the most sophisticated technology is not entirely safe. That is, alas, true, as man's confrontation with the universe, as Indira Gandhi once defined science, is not painless. Yet, however distressing accidents and breakdowns may be, says the prominent Indian physicist M. R. Srinivasan, the nuclear power programme of which India stands in such vital need must not be curtailed.

Naturally, in India as elsewhere an increasingly scrupulous approach is being taken to the problem of atomic power plant safety. In a press interview Prof. Sharma agreed that more sensitive public attention to these problems should not mean abandoning the construction of atomic power stations, as this, he says, would only impede progress. He is fully in favour of the peaceful use of the atom, a prospect he believes to be held out by the Soviet programme for phasing out nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

LEONID ZHEGALOV
our own correspondent

Delhi

The Inertia of the Bloc Mentality. How Overcome It?

YURI KASHLEV, chief Soviet delegate to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Vienna, is interviewed by New Times correspondent **Anatoly Kovrigin**

The Vienna meeting of representatives of the states participating in the CSCE has entered a new stage: after the general discussion, debates have started on proposals from delegates on every aspect of the European process. But before turning to these proposals, what would you say about what has been achieved so far?

The first stage of the Vienna meeting opened on November 4, 1986, at the level of the foreign ministers of the 35 participating countries. After the ministers left, the work continued till late December. The question under consideration at the time was the progress achieved in implementing the Helsinki Final Act and the concluding document of the Madrid meeting. The exchanges of views forcefully illustrated the conflicting approaches to the issues under consideration. Some countries tried to talk to their counterparts as equals, as befits sovereign states. They provided information on what had been done and was being done inside their territories to implement the Helsinki accords, made constructive proposals and, when warranted, criticized. Others adopted the stance of prosecuting attorneys, talking only of the situation in other countries, while keeping silent about their own domestic situations, laying emphasis on circumstantial matters and avoiding the discussion of essentials and this, moreover, in a pointedly confrontational manner.

Which countries specifically took such a stand?

The lead was taken by the U.S. delegation. Their closest NATO allies, the Canadians and the British, did their best to keep in step. Those delegations made a point of attacking socialist countries and tried to cast aspersions on their policies with regard to human rights and people-to-people contacts.

What forms did those attempts take in practice?

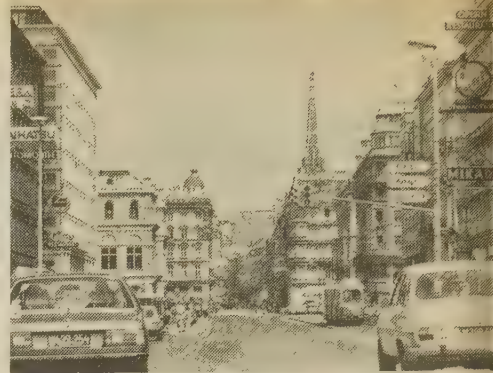
The speech of the chief American delegate Warren Zimmerman at the first plenary session after the resumption of the meeting on January 27 is a case in point. He made about 20 negative references to the U.S.S.R. in his lengthy discourses, apparently forgetting that he represented a country in which the rights of tens of millions are suppressed and not a few people are kept in prison for political motives.

We have never heard anything either from the U.S. or any other Western CSCE country about measures to reduce their huge army of unemployed, which totals about 30 million. Surely this figure is not comparable with some 30 dissidents in a country or even 3,000 or so wishing to emigrate. The figure, I repeat, is 30 million. Neither have we heard of any plans to alleviate the plight of the millions of homeless in the West. And this is something we would like to hear about as the United Nations has proclaimed 1987 the International Year of Shelter for the Homeless.

Unemployment, poverty and homelessness are the most glaring but not the only violations of human rights in the West, aren't they?

No, they are not. There are cases—well known to the international public—of the murder of human rights activists, the dispersal of large demonstrations of young people and students and encroachments on the freedom of the press. Last year alone the European Commission of Human Rights in Strasbourg received more than 700 complaints concerning actions by the governments of Britain, the F.R.G., France and other West European countries. Many of these complaints were passed on to the International Court of Justice. What is the fate of these complaints about violations of human rights? Alas, the West would not give straight answers to such questions.

And what is the situation in Vienna



with regard to questions that affect the destiny not only of the Europeans but of the whole of humanity! I mean the strengthening of security and real disarmament.

Debates on military and political issues show that most of the participants in the meeting are unanimous: Vienna could make a tangible contribution to the improvement of the political climate in Europe and pave the way for talks on major reductions in the armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals. Today on the negotiating table of the Vienna meeting there is only one explicit proposal for strengthening European security. It is Poland's initiative to the effect that the mandate of the Stockholm conference be extended in such a way that it should consider at the next round both confidence-building measures in the military sphere and real reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The Polish proposal, put on record as document No. 1 of the Vienna meeting, proceeds from the stand of the Warsaw Treaty states agreed upon at their Budapest meeting. It also takes account of the interest shown by the West European countries in reducing armed confrontation on our continent. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries view Poland's proposal as a major constructive initiative to facilitate an effective transition from the individual confidence-building measures approved in Stockholm to a comprehensive system of trust and real disarmament.

Could you clarify what is meant by real disarmament?

The Warsaw Treaty countries put forward in their Budapest appeal a detailed stage-by-stage programme for reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. It provides, as a first step, for simultaneous mutual reductions in the troop strength of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization by 100,000-150,000

for each side within the space of one or two years. Then, in the early 1990s, the parties could further reduce their land forces and tactical air force by 25 per cent from the current level. The socialist countries suggest that these measures be accompanied by measures that would obviate fears of the balance being upset. Agreements could even be reached on thinning out the forces along the line of contact of the two military and political alliances in Europe and on restricting major military exercises.

And what about verification? The West has always made a point of it.

The reduction could be carried out under effective control, with the use of both national technical means and international procedures including on-site inspections. I want to draw your attention to the fact that we suggest, along with the verification of agreed reductions, monitoring the military activity of the remaining forces.

So the proposal is, as you have said, to discuss all this simultaneously with the confidence-building measures already agreed on during the first round of the Stockholm conference?

Precisely. A number of confidence-building measures were agreed on during the first round. It was an exceptionally important accord, which was appreciated by virtually all the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The question of confidence-building measures, however, has not been closed and, in our view, should be resumed in the second round. The Soviet Union, for instance, would like to suggest such items for discussion as notification of independent air force or naval exercises, restrictions on the scale of military exercises, and the extension of confidence-building measures to the territories of all the CSCE countries. Other countries may put forward for discussion some other new confidence-building measures in the military field. It is essential, however, that discussion should not be an end in itself and push the problem of real reductions in the armed forces in Europe into the background and that both sets of proposals should be discussed simultaneously, which is the essence of the Polish proposal.

Even people not well versed in military problems will realize that the Polish proposal, supported by all the socialist countries, is giving the go-ahead to the second round of the Stockholm Conference. And what is the attitude of the other participants in the Vienna meeting to this initiative?

Delegates from a number of neutral and non-aligned countries, such as Yugoslavia, Sweden and Finland, commend the flexibility of Poland's ap-

proach. As for the NATO countries, they still avoid giving a straightforward reply to the constructive proposal of the Polish People's Republic.

In what way is the Polish Initiative related to press reports on possible consultations on disarmament between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization?

We think the problem of reducing armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe should be considered in an all-European context with the participation of all 35 CSCE states. This is our basic position. However, it does not exclude that, in order to expedite the transition to the concrete examination of disarmament issues, we would take part in work in any form, including unofficial contacts, both bilateral and multilateral.

Trade and economic relations have an important role to play in building confidence in Europe. Indeed, they are the fabric of political stability. What should we expect from the Vienna meeting in the economic, scientific and technological spheres?

Debates on this category of questions are in the main proceeding in a positive spirit. Leaving aside the pointedly confrontational address by the American delegation, the discussion on the "second basket" indicates the Europeans' interest in the continuation and expansion of mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation. A number of ideas and proposals for a follow-up to the Vienna meeting have been put forward. I have in mind especially the proposal by Czechoslovakia, in conjunction with Poland, Hungary and the G.D.R., for the convocation of an economic forum, and Bulgaria's idea of holding an ecological forum. The former could discuss trade and industrial cooperation, including problems in which Western delegates displayed keen interest, such as marketing and the participation of small and medium-sized companies in international cooperation. The latter forum should draft environmental protection measures, a matter of growing interest among the European nations.

Other fruitful ideas were voiced. Romania, for instance, proposed a conference on scientific and technological cooperation, the Nordic countries and Austria came up with proposals on some aspects of environmental protection, the Federal Republic of Germany called for an economic conference, Italy for a meeting of scientists from the CSCE countries, and so on.

What you are saying suggests that the issues in the "second basket" hold out greater promise of accords. Is this so?

It will take strenuous efforts to achieve success. We are aware, of course, that far from all the participants in the meeting are prepared to accept major innovative decisions in the field of businesslike cooperation. The habit of linking progress on the "second basket" to advances in other fields—human rights, for instance—still persists. This approach does not, of course, contribute to the formulation of mutually acceptable accords.

But we are optimists and believe that common European interests and the mutual dependence and complementary character of the economies of East and West will eventually emerge as the dominant factors and help overcome the inertia and stereotypes of block mentality.

You have already mentioned human rights. How is the discussion proceeding on other international legal aspects of humanitarian cooperation? What do the delegates think about the Soviet Union's proposal to discuss these issues at an international conference in Moscow?

To begin with, I should like to note the unprecedented breadth and significance of the Soviet proposal. It reflects the processes of reorganization at work in our domestic life and our readiness to contribute to the democratization of international humanitarian relations. Addressing the opening sitting of the Vienna meeting, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze clearly defined the concept of a Moscow conference, namely, to discuss comprehensively and with a view to a practical solution the entire complex of humanitarian problems in order to improve the situation in this field. The problems are many, enough for the Vienna meeting, a Moscow conference and other CSCE forums.

As for responses to our proposal, for a while some Western delegates seemed stunned. Now they have recovered and are trying to obstruct the Soviet initiative by imposing preconditions. But responsible politicians realize that the time for a representative conference on humanitarian cooperation has come. The Soviet Union says: every condition will be provided in Moscow for its work. We are not afraid of criticism, nor will we keep silent about problems that are of concern to us. In any case, we made a proposal that is clear and unambiguous in both form and substance and we hope it will be supported by all who have an interest in broader humanitarian cooperation.

Thank you.

Vienna

The Illusion of an Impenetrable Shield

Space weapons: the dialectic of "shield" and "sword"

ALEXEI ARBATOV, D. Sc. (Hist.)

Many of the advocates of the Strategic Defence Initiative now avoid discussing concrete questions: what type of anti-missile system they are going to build and how effective it is likely to be, how much money and time such a system will take, how to make it invulnerable to countermeasures from the other side, how compatible attempts to speed up the implementation of the SDI programme are with the ABM treaty, what will happen if SDI fails to provide hardware for an anti-missile system and if the ABM treaty and the dialogue on arms limitation in general have by then been irreparably wrecked.

Instead of answering these questions, the proponents of SDI often enter into discourses of a philosophical nature, arguing that the centuries-old history of wars and the art of war has always seen a dialectic between the "shield" and the "sword," defence and attack. This rivalry has proceeded with alternating success: as more powerful weapons were invented, the doctrine of attack prevailed, to be followed inevitably by emphasis on defence, and so forth. For all their monstrous and devastating power, nuclear missiles are not exempt from this dialectical law, the champions of SDI assert.

Invoking historical experience, elementary logic and moral principles impresses public opinion, because many people are naturally unable to perceive the complex military-technical and operational-strategic aspects of the problem on their own. For this reason the defence-attack aspect of the current polemic surrounding SDI merits attention, the more so as devotees of this programme, using plausible scientific arguments, try to prove that weapons will be developed in the future as well.

Offensive or Defensive Weapon

Indeed, more often than not, offence and defence have been relative, not absolute, categories. A shield is certainly a classic means of defence. But the conclusion is different if we con-

sider not the weapon as such but how it is used in fighting. The shield and coat of mail were attributes of offensive warfare in the Middle Ages. Artillery had an even more obvious dual purpose: it was a means of defending a fortress, and an offensive weapon to be used in sieges.

Many other instances of the kind could be cited. Cases where the role of a weapon changes depending on tactics and strategy are numerous in history. Engels wrote of the competitive struggle between armour-plating and the guns on battleships, burghers' arquebuses and the armour of the knights. Nuclear arms are no exception to the dialectical laws governing the development of weaponry. But the incessant rivalry between defence and offence has always been manifested in concrete forms.

In the relation of forces between the Soviet Union and the United States, the situation has changed periodically, just as it happened in earlier history. On the technical and tactical plane, attack and defence are competing with each other as regards the destructive power and target accuracy of nuclear weapons, on the one hand, and enhancing their invulnerability to an enemy nuclear strike, on the other. In the latter case, steps are being taken to provide better protection for the silo launchers of land-based missiles, enhance the invulnerability of missiles by deploying mobile launchers, and ensure the secrecy of patrols by missile-carrying submarines in the ocean and the quick takeoff of bombers from airfields.

The nuclear arms of one side are primarily offensive weapons against the peaceful installations of the other. As military theorists concluded long ago, the possibility of annihilating the essential values of a state—its population, economic potential and administrative bodies—before, or regardless of, wiping out its military potential has meant a drastic change brought about by nuclear missiles in the art and science of warfare.

In the past, the victor gained access

to these values only after the enemy had been defeated. The United States hoped to realize this possibility in the 1940s and 1950s, first by relying on its monopoly of nuclear weapons and subsequently, by taking advantage of its territory being beyond the range of Soviet nuclear missiles.

The dialectical law of "negation of the negation" was also manifested with regard to nuclear strategy. As soon as the Soviet Union developed nuclear weapons and intercontinental carriers, its armed forces acquired the potential to deal a retaliatory blow at vitally important enemy centres, also without engaging the enemy's armed forces.

The traditional situation between the nuclear powers has been restored, but in an entirely new form. Without crushing the armed forces and, in particular, the nuclear armaments, of the other side, its population and economy cannot be subjugated or wiped out, not because they are protected by troops, but because the other side can strike a devastating retaliatory blow at the aggressor.

Given nuclear parity, a successful attack and victory have become impossible unless the aggressor is able to avert a devastating retaliation or reduce its effect to the minimum. In other words, strategic superiority has also become unattainable.

Hence the conclusion that the effectiveness of an attack is now measured by the ability to destroy the nuclear armaments of the other side as well as its combat control and communication system, while the power of defence is measured by the ability of the strategic forces to survive even in a surprise attack and deliver a crushing retaliation. This is the chief defence factor in the relation of the nuclear forces of both sides, where defence appears primarily as the potential deterrence of the likely aggressor from attack, and not as a traditional means of repelling such an attack.

From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, with the United States' considerable nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, strategic attack obviously prevailed over defence. The United States calculated on destroying the greater part of the Soviet nuclear arsenal in a first strike. This was the reason for the instability in the correlation of military forces and, consequently, for the political tension of those years and the serious danger of nuclear war.

In the latter half of the 1960s, the Soviet Union took measures to build up its strategic potential and, as a result, the military situation began to stabilize. In the 1970s the survivability of nuclear weapons was enhanced in the

conditions of approximate parity recorded in the SALT-1 and SALT-2 treaties. This increased the ability of the two powers to deliver a retaliatory blow, and strengthened the factor of mutual deterrence.

There were negative factors as well. The increased numbers of nuclear warheads, the development of new weapon systems, and the appearance of destabilizing concepts (of a "limited nuclear war," for instance) adversely affected the nuclear balance. Remaining basically offensive in technical and operational terms, the nuclear armaments of both powers formed an overall strategic balance of forces between the late 1960s and early 1980s in which defence (that is, the reliability of the retaliatory potential) evidently predominated over attack. A substantial growth in the stability of strategic parity could be viewed as a factor for deterrence.

Trying to Upset Parity

Another tendency has become manifest in the mid-1980s. The new systems MX, Trident-2 and Midgetman, B-1B and cruise missiles of different types will enable the United States to treble by the mid-1990s, as compared with the early 1980s, its potential to destroy the other side's protected ground objectives, while the proportion of U.S. nuclear missiles that can be fired from concealed positions and reach their targets within 30 minutes will have risen 20-fold.

Given the present strategic alignment of forces, these programmes will not of course give Washington the capacity to deal an annihilating first strike. The countermeasures taken by the Soviet Union will certainly provide for the greater combat power, survivability and effectiveness of its strategic forces and the maintenance of its defence might at the proper level. However, the absolute and relative growth, in the overall military balance, of the proportion of weapons that can deliver an annihilating strike and become increasingly vulnerable to such a strike is unquestionably a destabilizing tendency. It means a relative strengthening of attack to the detriment of defence. For instance, the strategic doctrine of the Reagan administration lays emphasis on "limited and protracted nuclear war," a "preemptive" and "encounter" strike (strike on warning) and a "decapitating" strike. If this trend continues, strategic parity as a factor in military-political deterrence will gradually lose its effectiveness.

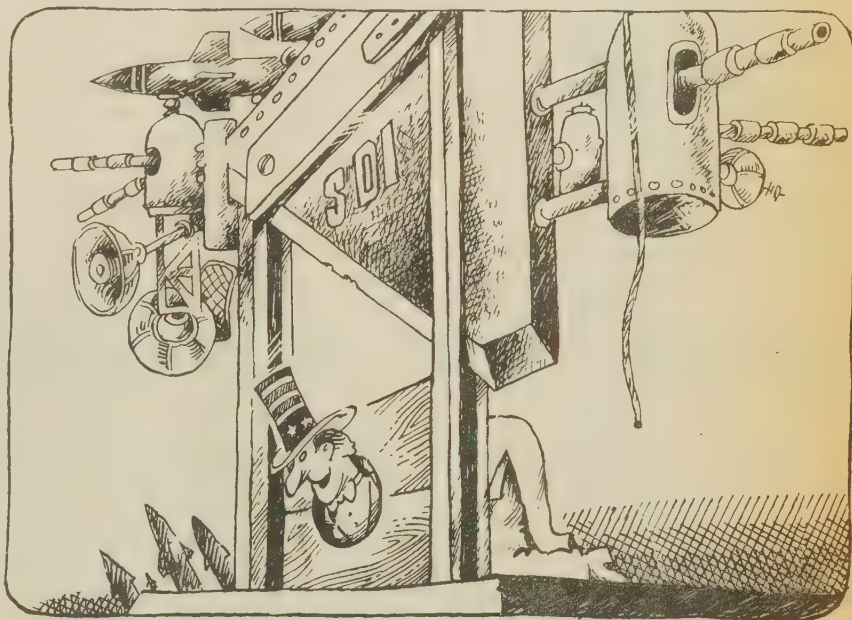
As for the defence-offence dynamics of the military balance, the mechanical application of previous manifestations of this process (which, incidentally,

never assumed absolute or unambiguous forms in the past either) in the entirely new military-political situation is inadmissible. Weapons, defensive in the technical and operational sense (for instance, many types of anti-missile systems in combination with offensive nuclear weapons), could become a component of attack to a much greater extent than, for example, tanks.

The possibility of developing abso-

superiority over defence (retaliatory strike). Moreover, if the potentials of both sides are symmetrical, an asymmetrical response is especially necessary to SDI. Such a response should counter the space-based ABM system with a view to enhancing retaliatory capacity, stability and deterrence.

Thus, the dialectics of the nuclear-missile balance throw new light on both offensive and defensive armaments and



I feel more secure this way.

Cartoon by N. Shcherbakov

lutely reliable means of protecting the population from nuclear weapons, especially from ballistic missiles, is to be ruled out even theoretically. Not a single weapon system or piece of equipment can be one hundred per cent reliable and effective. Furthermore, the destructive power of even the few nuclear warheads that could penetrate the ABM system under any circumstances makes the impotence of defence in protecting the population more evident than ever before. With less than one hundred per cent effectiveness, a sophisticated and extremely costly ABM system with space-based elements for protecting the administrative and industrial centres would be quite useless in repulsing a first massive nuclear strike at these objectives.

At the same time, even a partially effective anti-missile system of this type can greatly destabilize the strategic balance. It may create a highly dangerous illusion that a less powerful retaliatory strike from the other side, after it has been weakened and disorganized by a surprise nuclear attack on its strategic forces, can be repulsed. The potential of attack (first strike) will gain

radically change their traditional role in the ratio of offence and defence. It is this circumstance that is being deliberately or inadvertently ignored by advocates of SDI.

The genuine dialectics of the nuclear and space age call for a new approach to the problem of defence potential and stability. Without large-scale ABM systems, the balance of offensive nuclear forces is the more stable, the less the ability to weaken retaliatory power with a first strike, and the more reliable the deterrent ability of each state to make an adequate retaliatory strike.

Since the security of the Soviet Union and the United States in the nuclear age can only be mutual, stability implies an overall balance of the forces of both powers and a symmetrical, mutual confidence in the reliability of their deterrent potentials at, incidentally, the lowest possible level of these deadly arsenals, with their reduction to the minimum reasonable sufficiency and, ultimately, the complete abolition of strategic potential and nuclear weapons.

TAKING UP A POINT



ALEXEI VASILYEV,
D. Sc. (Hist.),
assistant director
of Africa Institute,
U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences,
replies:

It has latterly been my impression that the Soviet Union is allowing global problems of disarmament and questions relating to Soviet-American relations to overshadow—in its attention and even diplomacy—the so-called “regional conflicts,” the Middle East conflict, for instance. What is your position on this question at present?

JEAN-MARIE SALVANT
Marseilles, France

of a conference as a practical possibility. True, they are prompted not so much by a striving for peace as by the intention to use it as a means of putting through the same old separate deals on their own terms—in the interests of the aggressor and his powerful backer.

U.N. General Assembly resolution 41/43D reaffirms the urgent need to convene an international peace conference to work out a comprehensive resolution of the Middle East

air raids on Palestinian refugee camps and Lebanese towns and villages. And, of course, by the latest U.S. moves—the dispatch of naval forces to the Middle East coast with obviously aggressive intentions.

The tragedy, perhaps the main tragedy, lies in the disunity of the Arab countries, their inability to find the strength and courage to put an end to the internecine strife and to the contradictions which, of course, pale before the main prob-

Middle East: A Solution Is Feasible

I think I understand what has prompted your question. For a long time now these perennial conflicts, which have carried off tens and even hundreds of thousands of human lives, have become well-nigh standard items of press and TV news. The Arab-Israeli conflict, now more and more often overshadowed by the bloody and protracted Iranian-Iraqi war, is a case in point. That conflict is dangerous not only because it could at any moment flare up with renewed violence, but because it is an obstacle to the solution of cardinal international problems without which it is impossible to safeguard humanity from destruction.

Numerous plans for finding a way out of the crisis have been advanced. The “settlements” offered by the U.S.A., Israel and a number of West European countries have boiled down to nothing more than attempts to conclude separate deals between Israel and neighbouring Arab countries, invariably at the expense of the Palestinians.

Soviet diplomacy has always placed the emphasis on collective effort, on the convening of an international conference on the Middle East. In the light of current developments this has become an urgent necessity. Today there is simply no alternative to an international conference on the Middle East. Even those unwilling to take part in it have begun to speak

problem acceptable to all. The call contained in it to set up a preparatory committee with the participation of all the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council is the first practical step in this direction. In adopting the above resolution by 123 votes the United Nations endorsed the Soviet proposal on this issue. Thus, the question now is not whether to hold such a conference but what methods are most constructive for holding it and ensuring its success.

The Soviet proposals lay down no hard and fast rules for the preparation and conduct of the conference. It is not imposing its own point of view on others. The conference must be the product of the efforts of many, and this implies both compromise and diplomatic methods of reaching agreement.

The need for an international Middle East conference is recognized both in the Arab countries and in many West European capitals. The lack of any progress has to be a characteristic feature of the present situation. But there is a growing realization that this stagnancy is becoming increasingly dangerous for the parties to the conflict and the region as a whole. The malignancy of the crisis has been brought home sharply in recent weeks by the shooting down of peaceful Palestinian Arab demonstrators in the West Bank, the intensification of hostilities in Lebanon and the latest Israeli

lem facing them all—the need to take a united stand against the American-Israeli conspiracy, to take joint action to achieve a political settlement. The Arabs need resolution and consistency also for coordinated actions to resolve the Palestine question. The two are inseparably linked. For any agreement on a Middle East settlement must provide for the establishment of an independent Palestinian state. To evade the issue is to stop halfway and perpetuate the likelihood of ever more bloodshed. The tendency of some Arab states described as “moderates” to accept the situation when the coals of the conflict continue to smoulder, threatening to flare up into another military conflagration may be explicable but by no means justifiable.

Now about Israel's position. Formerly Tel Aviv, in unison with Washington, rejected out of hand the idea of a Middle East peace conference, counting on its military superiority, its ability to continue to “run the show.” But on February 1 the Israeli government held a meeting at which, according to Reuters for instance, Israel's participation in an international peace conference on the Middle East was discussed. Prime Minister Itzhak Shamir and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres reportedly argued at length about the advantage or disadvantage for Israel of participation in such a conference.

FOLLOW-UP

Where Are You, Major?

Last year, *New Times* carried an article entitled "Memory Memory..." about the release of 33 Belgian generals from a nazi camp near Prenzlau (issue 18, 1986). The author, Anatoly Chlenov, brought a wartime photograph to our office, and

left the following message to readers:

"It was an extraordinary event: the Soviet Army freed all the generals of an allied country from nazi imprisonment. Forty years later I, a participant in the action, sent letters to the 33 generals at the

home addresses they had given me then as they had invited me to visit Belgium after the war. Replies were quite long in coming. Alas, none of those people proved to be still with us, and their families had moved. Then came a letter from the daughters of Lieutenant General Lessaffre, the commander of the Eighth Infantry Division, followed, quite recently, by one from the children of Lieutenant General Joseph-Hubert de Krahe (who died in 1946). 'Believe us,' the letter said, 'Belgians who suffered in the war have not forgotten the important part your army and your people played in the fight against the nazis.'

"Enclosed with the letter was a photograph taken just after the POWs' release, showing a Soviet major with Belgian generals. Unfortunately, neither my correspondents, nor myself know the man's name. I hope some of *New Times'* readers will recognize him and let us know his identity."

In the picture Lieutenant General de Krahe is on the extreme left, and the Soviet officer is in the middle of the front row.



OPINIONS

Can You Criticize in Russia?

I recently visited Britain. I don't like the way it acted on the Malvinas which, to my mind, belong to Argentina. I voiced my protest in the press and in conversation. Believe it or not, nobody arrested me for doing so. I wonder if I could publicly disagree with the official viewpoint in Russia.

ALFREDO LUJAN MARTINEZ
Caracas, Venezuela

Broad Spectrum

I know a little Russian and am trying to brush it up by reading Soviet periodicals. My interest in them has been increasing steadily of late. They reflect sharp clashes of opinion and level acute criticism at various aspects of life in your country.

JOHN GOULD
New York, U.S.A.

The Foreign Minister said that Israel should not reject the proposal outright. Why? Because the idea was favoured by Egypt and Jordan, with which Israel wished to "improve relations"—to the detriment, naturally, of the rest of the Arab world. The Prime Minister, on the other hand, objected that "accepting an international forum would put Israel under pressure to make concessions." And it of course did not intend to make any concessions whatever.

The whole "argument," however, rang false. Peres advanced his own plan, every point of which was an ultimatum. An ultimatum to the Arabs—under no circumstances was the Palestine Liberation Organization to be allowed to take part in the conference. Instead, the "authentic Palestinians," i.e., those who live in Israeli-occupied territory and collaborate with the occupation authorities, could be admitted but without being given any independent role. This means denying any say to those who for decades had been living in exile. An ultimatum to the entire international community was the stipulation that "the conference must be of short duration." In other words, a mere formality, for a problem of such magnitude cannot be resolved at one sitting. This was in effect confirmed by Peres who said that "the conference cannot impose a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict."

As you see, the Israeli position is as before aimed at excluding any possibility of a political settlement in the Middle East.

One thing is clear. The conference can be successful only on one condition: if the interests of all concerned—the Arab countries and Israel—are taken into account. It should not be just a matter of reconciling them for one moment only for the guns to start speaking again the next. The important thing is to establish a system in the Middle East that would ensure stable peace and guarantee the sovereign rights of all the peoples who live there. This, incidentally, would accord with the vital interests of the United States, which is still adding fuel to the flames of military confrontation. And it would accord with the no less vital and important interests of the Soviet Union in a region situated in such close proximity to the U.S.S.R.

At the time of writing, the election of a plant manager is no longer exceptional in this country. Democratization is gathering momentum.

The Riga Automobile Factory (RAF) is a mini-bus manufacturer known in the U.S.S.R. and other countries to which it exports its products. The plant cannot yet meet the demand for its multipurpose mini-buses and the qua-



A Factory Elects Its Manager

ALEXANDER RADOV

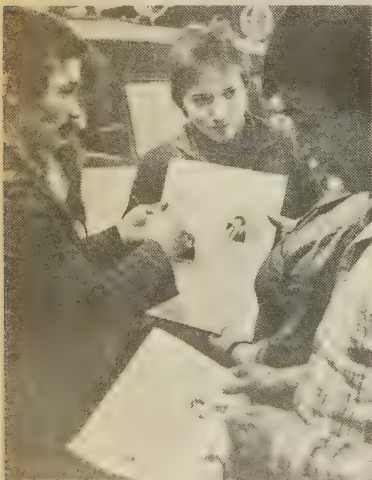
lity of the vehicles leaves something to be desired. A group of experts who visited the plant last summer put forward a well-argued case that the plant was in an excellent position to make a breakthrough. There was talk of drastic, even revolutionary change. But this called for a manager who could provide real leadership. There was no such individual among the plant's executives at the time. Somebody suggested announcing a vacancy and inviting candidates from all over the country. The first to back the idea was Boris Pugo, First Secretary of the Latvian Communist

Party, provided, he said, the minister did not object. The recently appointed Automobile Industry Minister Nikolai Pugin was completely in favour. The newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda (circulation 17 million) acted as an intermediary and announced the terms of the competition for the post of manager. The response was overwhelming: telegrams and phone calls and thousands of letters poured in from all over the country.

The telegrams and letters revealed that there were many people who longed to do something big, something that

offered scope for their initiative. In entering the contest many of them were aware that their chances of getting the job were slim but they hoped to attract attention, a reaction perhaps to the fact that for many decades it has not been the practice in this country to propose oneself for a highly-paid executive job, or any job, for that matter. People were supposed to sit and wait until they were noticed and approached.

Hundreds of applications were received and every applicant seemed fit for the post of manager. But how were they to be assessed and what criteria were to be used to pick the most suitable candidate? Only experts could provide the answer. The plant invited psychologists and specialists in management. But even they had no pat answers. What mattered were not past records but people's potential for the future. So, it was decided to assess not the candidates themselves but the programmes they put forward. There were to be twenty contenders at the start of the contest.



Sergei Gorbunov and Victor Bossert: may the best man win.

The RAF plant is situated in Jelgava, a small old town forty kilometres from the Latvian capital of Riga. The announcement of the competition took many plant workers by surprise and was seen by some as a sign that things at the plant were going badly. There were various forecasts. Some people said no worthwhile candidates would come and that those who did would turn out to be calculating and self-seeking.

Fifteen of the twenty short-listed candidates arrived. What had motivated them to make the long trip to far-off Jelgava? After all, they all had comfortable positions as general directors, directors or chief engineers. What were they dissatisfied with in the jobs they already had? Perhaps they were in trouble? Perhaps they were unpopular with colleagues and this could affect their performance? In short, people were apprehensive and even suspicious. The applicants for the post of manager were given a guarded and somewhat hostile reception, especially on the part of the plant's management. At the very first general meeting with the candidates they made a point of stressing that the "outsiders" had little chance against the local candidate, who received an ovation from the audience.

Meanwhile the undaunted "outsiders" visited the factory to find, to their surprise, that it was by no means a founding enterprise as they had been led to believe. At the same time, however, elements of mismanagement did not escape their notice. Nothing had changed at the plant for many years although change had been promised. The managers commanded little authority with the workers and had failed to address themselves to their needs. The candidates realized that a manager similar to the former one stood no chance of being appointed.

On closer acquaintance, the factory workers noted with some surprise that

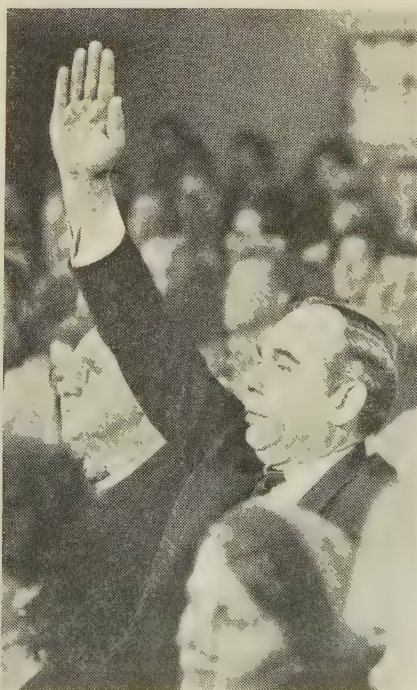
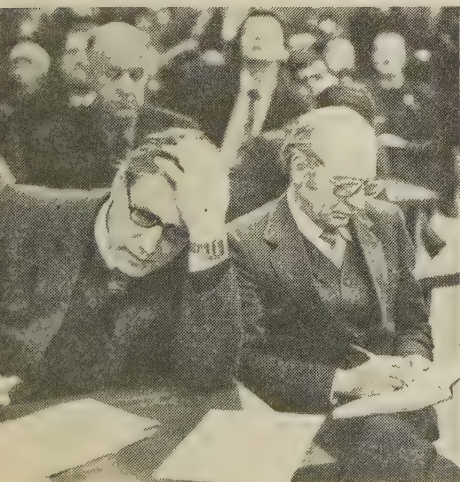
the new arrivals were serious, no-nonsense people, more than a match for locally available managers. Their impression was confirmed during the very first business game. Management experts suggested a situation that enabled each candidate to show both his strengths and his weaknesses. The panel was made up of ministry officials and experts at the plant.

The factory workers were sceptical. They did not believe that people from distant parts of the country with no previous experience in the automobile industry could quickly assess the situation and come up with a viable development strategy for the plant. Artis Bergs, the chief designer, a man dedicated to his plant, spoke for many of his colleagues when he told the candidates: "This reminds me of lottery: you don't know what RAF is and what its needs are." He was apprehensive that the candidate appointed would not last more than a year as manager.

Many shared the fear that an "alien" manager chosen from among the fifteen candidates would soon find himself at loggerheads with the rest of the personnel, as had often happened when a newly-appointed boss had taken over. They did not want to see a repetition of the same thing. They wanted a manager who would fit into the slot at once and get things moving. Surprisingly, this was exactly what happened. Barely three days later chief designer Bergs enthused that he had got his first taste of collective management and that he enjoyed

Electing a plant director: a lot of pros and cons to weigh.

Photos by Y. Feklistov



ed it. He said that he could already see a new manager among the newcomers. These three days had changed everyone's mind. It did not just happen, it had been stage-managed by the management experts. Their head, 30-year-old Sergei Popov, briefed the candidates: "If we are bold enough to choose our managers we should go further and make drastic changes in the situation at the plant."

Having organized dozens of similar business games before, Popov was perhaps the only person who was confident of the success of the experiment. He divided the eighteen contenders (fifteen outsiders and three local ones) into sixes and challenged each group to propose a new strategy for the plant. This experiment immediately revealed those whom teamwork suited. It showed that some of them were only happy when they were equipped with figures and reports while others were more imaginative and could generate seemingly abstract ideas that might later turn out to be very practicable.

The plant's experts and managers took a favourable view of the many useful ideas proposed. The candidates who had come to the RAF had brought know-how from all over the country and they were able to compare the RAF with the more advanced industries in which they had worked. A collective effort brings people together: very soon the "outsiders" and the plant's experts had been fused into a single team. Although each wanted to outstrip the others, all the candidates realized that the RAF was staging a pioneering experiment, the first competitive selection of prospective plant managers, and they took it so seriously that most of them were less concerned about themselves than that the RAF should pick the most suitable of them. They were quite sincere in this. As became clear later, they had identified the future winner long before the final round of voting. In any case, everyone wanted to win. For a while everyone thought of himself as the strongest contender. Psychologists quickly managed to cut many of them down to size. Some were so distressed at hearing their chances objectively assessed that they needed psychotherapy. It was explained to them carefully why others had outscored them.

Five candidates got through to the intermediate stage. They were rated strictly on merit. 38-year-old Yuri Kalyuzhny, deputy general director for economic matters at the Electrical Transformer Association in Orenburg, received the highest rating, and Victor Bossert, 38, director of major plant in Omsk, was placed fifth. The most exciting stage now began with each contender presenting his own line.

The employees held their breath. Workers were afraid that the experts

would choose someone who suited the authorities, an opportunist, not a fighter.

The town newspaper frontpaged the pictures of the five main contenders, their biographical details and election platforms. Not only the factory but the whole town followed the election with a growing sense of excitement. In fact the whole nation was watching through the Komsomolskaya Pravda which kept its audience of tens of millions abreast of developments.

At this point it would be worthwhile to recall the decisions of the recent plenum of the CC CPSU. It noted that departmentalism and parochialism, which put the interests of a city or region above those of the whole nation, were still common in our personnel policy. This may be why able leaders find it hard to win recognition and get more interesting and responsible jobs elsewhere. The RAF competition helped many contenders to do just that. Even those who lost out received two or three attractive managerial job offers.

The competition also showed that demand for able leaders at present runs ahead of supply. Not that the country has a dearth of young talent. But for a long time talent has remained in the shade. Older managers, afraid of competition, were not overeager to promote young aspirants. And the prevailing method of appointing managers had put a seal of legitimacy on this state of affairs.

The RAF experiment attracted young people and showed that there were many who could replace unsatisfactory managers.

The five contenders were in striking contrast with the former managers. The quality that distinguished them most was their democratic attitude of mind. The former manager, veteran workers told us, was rarely to be seen and had little attention to spare for the workers' needs. The five new candidates went down to the shop floor to see how matters stood, and make mental notes and suggestions as to how to deal with outstanding problems. After the first day of such meetings the workers felt that "electing a manager was a good idea," as painter Guntis Vilums said. And

Lyudmila Vinogradova, senior quality inspector, added: "You can now tell the future manager things that formerly workers could only discuss among themselves. Isn't it wonderful?"

Every candidate had an office where he received visitors. And they were allowed to see every aspect of the plant's operation. Some, eager to carry favour with the employees, rushed to the factory floor to mix with the workers, others made a beeline for the section offices. Some concentrated on young employees, while others turned their attention to veterans. Did all this activity interfere with normal work and production targets? Amazingly, during the period of the competition the factory met its production targets for the first time in many months. Part of the reason, of course, was the general enthusiasm generated by the competition. But the election campaign also gave the workers a chance to discuss the factory's problems and bottlenecks openly and frankly.

Before long it became clear that although all the candidates were liked and each had his supporters, an overwhelming majority preferred 36-year-old Sergei Gorbunov, deputy general director of a production association from Pskov, and Bossert, whom I have already mentioned. Sergei Gorbunov is quick and dynamic. His manner appealed to young workers and women. Victor Bossert, competent in technological and economic matters, appealed to men, especially experts and administrative staff. He exuded strength and reliability and was a symbol of order.

These two were the finalists selected by a panel of scientists and a hundred of the most enthusiastic workers at the plant. Passions reached their peak. Dozens of volunteers canvassed the workers on the floor on behalf of one or other candidate. The candidates were impatient to make more acquaintances in the factory and work out a programme that would win them support among the work force.

The management by and large supported Bossert in preference to Gorbunov. What line was it to adopt? The right approach was open support for

their favourite, while allowing opposing views to be expressed and trying to counter the opposition's arguments. But not all the managerial staff, especially at the workshop level, were quite so democratically-minded. Some resorted to arm-twisting tactics. The reaction was a flurry of complaints from employees who said they were being prevented from campaigning for Gorbunov. On balance, this lost Bossert some points although he was clearly set to win. This was highlighted on the final day of the competition. Every ten employees appointed one representative. They would have liked to appoint more but the auditorium was not big enough to hold all those who wished to vote. On voting day, the hall was so crowded that there were fears that the balcony would collapse. In the whole history of the plant, no event had ever attracted such interest.

After drawing lots, Bossert was the first to take the floor. He put forward not a programme—that, he said, could only be drawn up with the participation of the work force—but the main principles of future work. These included the use of science, self-government, a dynamic social policy, the need to take a tougher stand in dealing with the ministry, to foster a sense of belonging in the plant's personnel and to build a new vehicle that could break into capitalist markets.

His speech was so convincing that it left Sergei Gorbunov with little to say. He was visibly at a loss and had to make do with suggesting elaborations on Bossert's ideas. Like Bossert, however, he failed to offer an entirely satisfactory programme. To make matters worse for him, his manner resembled that of the former director, who commanded little affection among his employees.

As a result of the voting, Bossert collected 387 votes and Gorbunov 57. When the results were announced, the audience broke into applause. For the first time the employees had chosen their own manager from a large number of candidates.

Deputy chief designer Ivan Danilkiv thus summed up the workers' feelings: "At first we did not take this competition seriously but gradually we were drawn into it. Bossert is the best candidate. His programme is more solid. He is a real manager." The first experience was a qualified success. It was an exercise in democracy, a very attractive though by no means a simple process. People must learn how to practise democracy and should be educated in it. This calls for scientific and organizational backup and a legal framework.

All this will come in due course. One thing is certain: we are witnessing a movement from democracy to more democracy at grassroots level. And this is what counts most.

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February 23 this year marks the 69th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. An indispensable part of the Soviet armed forces is the engineer construction service, which builds both defence installations and civil structures.

The Soldier Who Builds

Marshal of the Engineers NIKOLAI SHESTOPALOV,
Deputy Minister of Defence of the U.S.S.R.

Today Soviet military construction engineers are involved in the building of supersonic aircraft, long-range atomic-powered submarines, combat missiles and research rockets. They are part soldiers, part civil construction workers.

Modern armed forces require the increasingly complex engineering support, provided by the engineer construction service which makes a material contribution to the enhancement of the combat readiness of the Soviet Army and Navy.

The first decree setting up the military engineering service was signed by Lenin. During the civil war, military construction engineers did an enormous amount of fortification work on the theatres of operations, and built a number of defences. The Petrograd fortified area, for instance, played a decisive role in repulsing the onslaught of Yudenich-led troops and the White Finnish bands between 1919 and 1921.

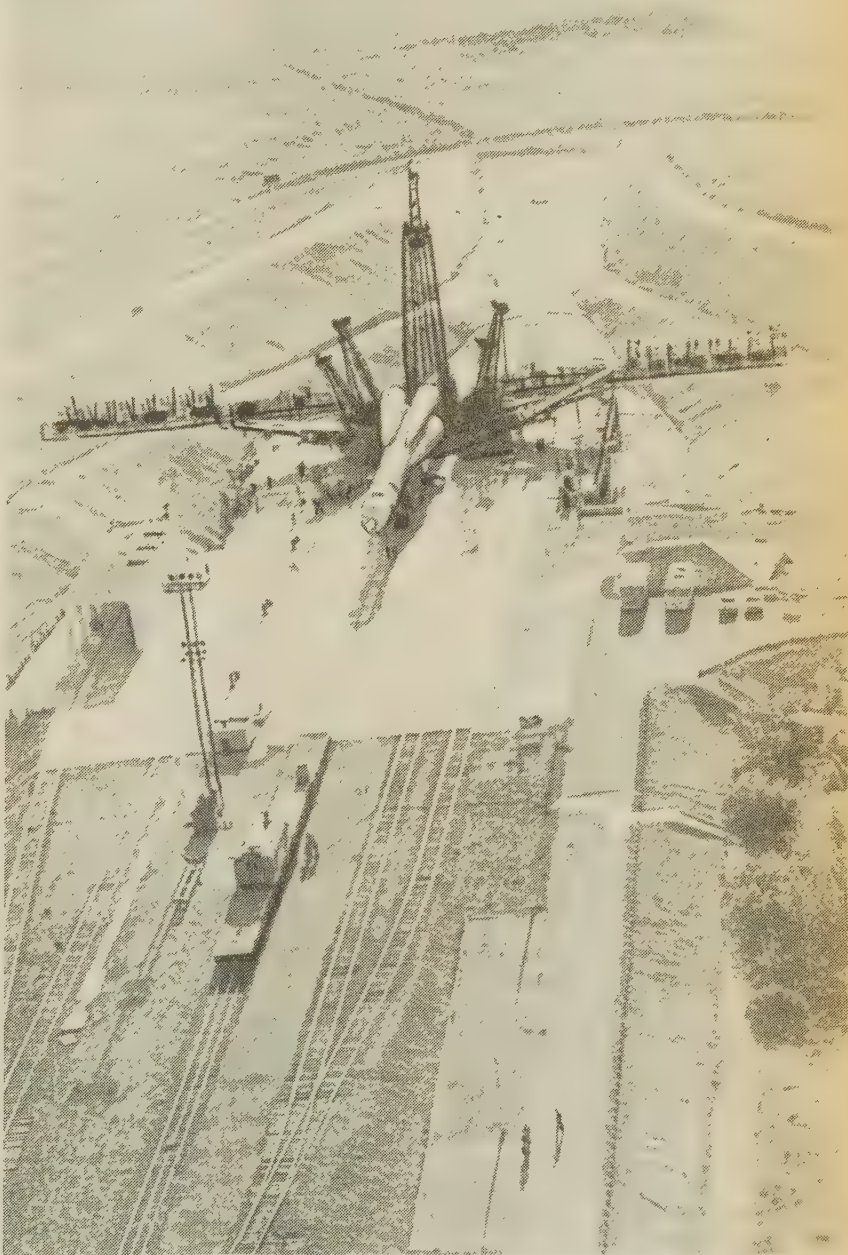
The industrialization of the country in the early five-year-plan periods gave a powerful impetus to the progress of military construction engineering. It was then that the material and technical foundations of the Red Army and the Red Navy were laid. Those years saw the construction of naval bases for the Northern and Pacific fleets, Komsomolsk on the Amur, the industrial outpost in the east of the country, airdromes, and fortified areas on the western border.

Immediately after the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, when the Soviet state assumed the strategic defensive, our engineer construction units were of inestimable help in preparing theatres of operations and relocating industrial plants to the east. The laying of the legendary "Road of Life" across Lake Ladoga was among the numerous heroic actions carried out by our military construction engineers in the war years. Whenever necessary, a construction engineer would pick up his rifle and go into action.

Soviet construction engineers have

left fond memories of themselves in the countries liberated by the Soviet Army from the Nazi scourge. They helped restore and build bridges, roads, electric power stations, industrial plants, and homes, and supplied the new authorities with material, equipment and tools.

By April 1945, Romanian oilmen and Soviet military construction engineers had restored in Romania, by joint effort, more than 1,200 oil wells, 16 tunnels, 120 water supply stations and other installations of vital importance. Our military engineers helped the Bulgarians raise Sofia from the ruins, and aided the Hungarian working people in restoring the bridges across the Danube, and the Budapest metro.



The Baikonur cosmodrome. The first artificial earth satellite was launched, and Yuri Gagarin set out to near-earth space from here.

TASS photo

The nazis did tremendous damage to Yugoslavia, destroying two fifths of its industry and a fifth of its housing, and leaving 3.5 million people homeless. Soviet soldiers stepped in to help repair the damage. In a message to the government of the U.S.S.R., Josip Broz Tito wrote the following: "I should like to stress once again that we owe a great deal to you, the invincible Red Army and the Soviet people, for the help our people are receiving from you."

Since then the professional standard of our military engineers has increased immeasurably. They have a high-capacity industry of their own which produces building materials, structural components, equipment and tools.

Over the postwar years, the military construction engineering service has carried out a number of important Party and government assignments. It has restored war-ravaged enterprises, helped rebuild Tashkent damaged by an earthquake, and taken part in harvesting campaigns.

Our military engineers take pride in the fact that they have been entrusted with building the launch sites for our missiles and spaceships. Our first ballistic missile was launched on October 18, 1947, from Kapustin Yar, the first Soviet cosmodrome in the sun-scorched steppe.

Next, they built Baikonur, the enormous spacecraft launching complex in Kazakhstan. It was from there that the world's first R-7 multistage intercontinental ballistic missile, developed under the guidance of the outstanding designer Sergei Korolyov, lifted off on August 21, 1957, to cover a distance of 8,000 km and land exactly in the predetermined target area. And it was from there that the rocket carrying the world's first artificial earth satellite was put into orbit on October 4 of the same year, and the first cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin blazed the trail to space.

Probably few have heard of the Plesetsk cosmodrome. Military engineers had a hard time building it in the taiga thicket, amid bogs. The Plesetsk cosmodrome, completed in 1960, has made a substantial contribution to solving economic problems by means of satellites. The communication satellites launched from it bring television programmes to out-of-the-way parts of the U.S.S.R., and link the western part of the country with Eastern Siberia and the Far East by telephone and telegraph communication channels. Plesetsk had a prominent part to play in carrying out the CMEA countries' joint Intercosmos project. The first French MAS satellites were launched from there.

Military engineers displayed remarkable skill and courage in coping with

the consequences of the Chernobyl power plant accident. They promptly built a special decontamination station, a reliable barrier to prevent radiation spreading, and were of great help in entombing the fourth generating unit. For this heroic effort many military engineers were given government decorations.

Military engineers took part in building the Soviet nuclear-missile shield, an important component of military-strategic parity. It comprises intricate engineering complexes—protected launching silos, control points, and other installations.

The only purpose of our nuclear weapons is defence against aggression. Scientists, designers and military engineering experts seek to increase the survivability of nuclear weapon and combat control systems. Military engineers have created a modern technical maintenance service which keeps our missile and ground forces, navy, air force and air defence units in permanent combat readiness under all climatic and geological conditions.

Aggressive circles in the U.S. have made a bid for military superiority over the U.S.S.R. which they propose to achieve by putting Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative into effect. But there should be no mistake about our being able to find a response to "star wars"—and an asymmetrical response as well. As Mikhail Gorbachev has pointed out, we shall be able to achieve equilibrium at less expense. Soviet military engineers are equal to providing whatever technical facilities are required for such an asymmetrical response.

The reforms now being implemented increasingly rapidly in the economic, social and spiritual spheres as part of the acceleration strategy elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress are regarded by Soviet military construction engineers as being of vital concern to themselves. Measures are being taken to intensify the operation of the military engineering industry.

Soviet military engineers are responsible for a sizable proportion of the vast socio-cultural development programme. Over the eleventh five-year-plan period they built—apart from defence installations—over 5,000 homes, and 1.5 times more schools, kindergartens, crèches, clinics and canteens than in 1976-80. In the twelfth five-year-plan period we are to build twice as many schools and 1.7 times more preschool establishments than in 1981-85.

The effort being made by military construction engineers is as essential to the country's security as that of missilemen, airmen, tankmen and seamen. The more efficient their work, the stronger will be the defences of the Soviet Union.

There were long queues of people in front of polling stations from dawn to dusk on February 2, when the Filipinos were to state their attitude to a draft new constitution put to a national referendum by Corazon Aquino's government. The turnout in the February referendum surprised local reporters as most of the voters could not even read the new fundamental law of the republic, which runs to roughly a hundred pages. More than 20 million voters, about 80 per cent of the registered voters in the country with its population of 55 million, went to the polls. Moreover, the referendum was unusually peaceful for the Philippines, with only a handful of incidents. This was in contrast with last year, when passions ran high and there were fierce clashes during the presidential elections that eventually resulted in the overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos, who had autocratically ruled the country for two decades.

Corazon Aquino made it clear that she viewed the voting as an expression of the attitude to her personally and to her administration. Indeed, over 76 per cent of the voters cast their ballots not so much for the constitution itself as for the incumbent president. This outcome is an unambiguous vote of confidence in Corazon Aquino and a mandate to her to continue her avowed policy of restoring democracy, achieving economic revival and ensuring national reconciliation. The approval of the constitution legally formalized Aquino's advent to power and will keep her in office till her six-year term expires in June 1992.

Meanwhile, the right-wing forces and the still numerous Marcos supporters, called "loyalists" today, conducted a vigorous campaign against the new constitution and, mainly, against the consolidation of Aquino's power. They have strong positions in the army and in the north of the country. They charged Corazon Aquino with "drifting to the left" and "communist sympathies" because her government amnestied and released political prisoners in the spring of 1986 and concluded a two-month armistice with the rebels in the New People's Army late last year.

The "loyalists" are grouping around Juan Ponce Enrile, one of Marcos' close lieutenants and for many years his Secretary of National Defence. In February last year he, along with other army officers, changed his tack, helped Corazon Aquino to power and eventually retained his post in her cabinet. When rumours that he was at the head of an impending military coup emerged last November, the President dismissed

After the Referendum

him together with some other ministers. But the pressure on Aquino from the right, in particular from the army, did not slacken. Moreover, it dramatically strengthened as the referendum date drew closer. It was obvious that Aquino's opponents had set out to step up tensions to a point where the referendum would be impossible.

Escalation of Tension

A demonstration of peasants went to the presidential palace in Manila on January 22. They were to present a petition demanding an early land reform: the lion's share of all the farmland in the country is concentrated in the hands of big landowners. Crossing the narrow Mendiola Bridge not far from the presidential palace the demonstrators found their way blocked by police and barbed-wire fences. There were lines of Marines from the palace guard standing behind them. The head of the column stopped while the rear, not seeing what was happening in front, kept moving. The Marines opened fire without warning and continued shooting after people had turned away and broken into a run. As many as 15 people were killed and about 100

wounded in the massacre. The order to shoot was clearly given by those who wanted to frighten the democratic forces, direct public indignation against the head of state, provoke disorders and so crush the progressive organizations by military force.

The shooting of the peaceful demonstration of peasants shook the country, just as the murder of a popular trade union leader had done two months previously. Public organizations, trade unions and peasant associations vehemently condemned the outrage and demanded the resignation of General Fidel Ramos, chief of staff of the armed forces. A thousands-strong "march of wrath" was to be staged in a few days. Troops were again moved to the palace and an explosive conflict seemed imminent. At the last moment, Corazon Aquino ordered the palace guard to withdraw and the barbed-wire fences to be removed so that the demonstrators could proceed freely. She also told members of her cabinet to join the march. The peasants quietly handed in their petitions.

But then came another dangerous crisis, another flare-up of violence. On January 27 troops attacked a number of

military and civilian installations in the capital and some other parts of the country. The putschists were neutralized by the forces loyal to the government. But one of the rebel groups seized the Channel 7 TV studio on a busy Manila street and held it for two days. Tension in the capital in the run-up to the referendum was also fuelled by rumours of the impending return of ex-president Ferdinand Marcos from Hawaii where he had found political refuge.

The troops massed around the TV studio braced themselves for the assault. General Fidel Ramos announced that the pro-Marcos rebels had attempted a military coup but that the uprising had been crushed and that the armed forces were firmly behind President Aquino. The chief of staff has made many statements in this vein recently. Developments seemed to follow a preordained pattern: at first, the atmosphere of an "imminent coup" was fuelled by rumours and troops were sent into the streets. Then followed the announcement of the exposure of a "coup" and General Ramos, billed by the U.S. press as a "defender of democracy" and an "implacable anti-communist," would move into the limelight. Manila observers had the impression that the seizure of the Channel 7 studio was part of a vast conspiracy intended to whip up tension in the country with a view to enhancing the influence of the generals on Aquino's policy and demonstrating discontent with her "soft" policy towards the left.

These eruptions of violence one after another influenced the results of the referendum, but not in a way the anti-Aquino forces had calculated. They prompted the undecided to cast their votes for the constitution, that is, for stability and calm. At the same time a tendency alarming to the Aquino administration emerged: roughly half of the servicemen taking part in the referendum voted against the new constitution and, hence, against Aquino herself.

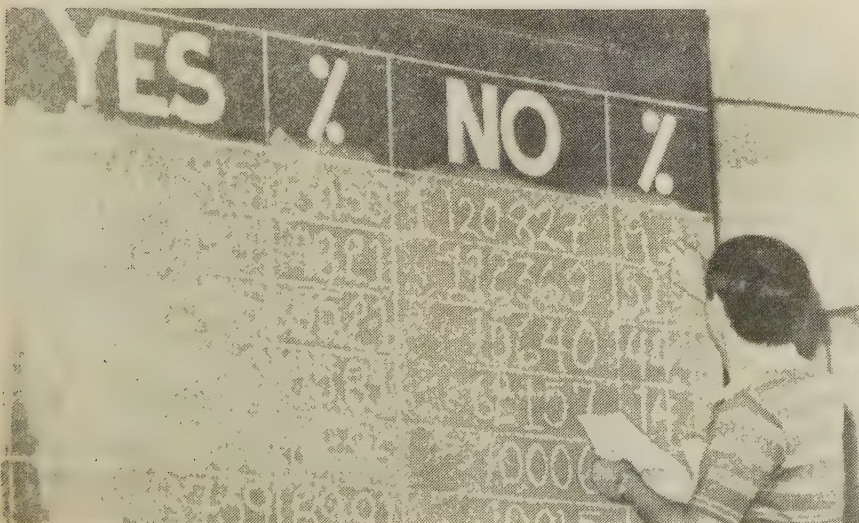
The New Constitution

What are the salient features of the new Constitution and in what way does it differ from that introduced under Marcos in 1973?

The fundamental law was drafted by a special commission of 48 members appointed by Corazon Aquino. Although most of them supported Aquino, they had different political views and opinions. Naturally, the provisions they formulated were the result of a compromise. By and large, however, they

Totting up the referendum returns.

AP-TASS photo



could pave the way for the further democratization of the country and for long-overdue social and economic reforms, and strengthen the republic's sovereignty.

Under the new Constitution, the bicameral Congress is to be restored and elections are to be held in May. Heads of local government bodies, including provincial governors and city mayors, are to be elected in August.

The new fundamental law somewhat curtails the powers of the head of state in favour of parliament and forbids the appointment of close relatives of the president to posts of responsibility in the government, common practice under Marcos. The Constitution includes a chapter on "social justice," which guarantees, *inter alia*, the right of the working people to form trade unions and forbids the military to engage in politics other than participation in elections. It also contains guarantees against encroachments on civil rights.

The Constitution envisages that in principle the agrarian reform should be implemented, but at the discretion of Congress.

Debates were especially fierce, both in the constitutional commission and elsewhere, on provisions relating to foreign (for which read American) military bases in the country and the deployment of nuclear weapons on its territory. The originally prohibitive provisions to this effect were gradually, obviously as a result of outside pressure, replaced with more lenient ones. Suffice it to say that a representative from the U.S. embassy was constantly present at the meetings of the commission.

The amendment of the draft constitution with regard to U.S. military presence in the Philippines and the non-nuclear status of the country coincided with Aquino's visit to the United States last September. Washington made it clear to Corazon Aquino that if the United States did not get firm guarantees of respect for U.S. interests, military-strategic in particular, Manila would be refused the additional financial and economic aid promised earlier. The U.S. Senate initially blocked \$200 million in aid to the Philippines. Later the sum was allocated because Washington was apparently satisfied with the compromise reached in the constitutional commission.

The current agreement on American bases in the Philippines, including two large bases outside U.S. territory, the Subic Bay naval base and the Clark Field air force base, runs out in 1991. The Aquino government has announced

on more than one occasion that it will abide by it, while remaining vague as to whether it will prolong the agreement or not. The Constitution envisages that the official bilateral treaty on the granting of the bases should be approved by two thirds of the Philippine Senate. It also states that in accordance with national interests, the Philippines is pursuing a policy that will make its territory a nuclear-free zone. This provision is clearly directed against the Pentagon.

A Truce That Has Not Brought Peace

On December 10 last year, the streets of the city of Bacolod, capital of the "sugar country" on Negros Island, filled with exuberant crowds. Several hundred New People's Army guerrillas entered the central square to cheering and the chiming of bells and merged with the jubilant crowd, which welcomed the beginning of an armistice between the government and rebels. For the first time in the past 18 years the Filipinos celebrated Christmas and the New Year with "peace at home." Though fragile, it was a long-awaited and desirable peace.

The armistice agreement provided for a truce of 60 days, till February 8, which gave a chance to conduct preparations for the referendum and the voting itself in peace. This undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Aquino administration in the attempt to win a vote of confidence. For the first time representatives of the rebels, whose forces, according to the Filipino press, number more than 20,000 and operate in many provinces of the archipelago, were allowed to open headquarters in Manila.

Talks with the government delegation were conducted by representatives of the National Democratic Front, which unites about a dozen left-wing nationalist organizations and groupings. Their programme included such radical demands as the distribution of the landowners' holdings among landless peasants, the closure of U.S. bases in the archipelago, the revision of agreements with international financial institutions, the repudiation of onerous foreign debts, which had reached a total of \$28 billion, and the establishment of a "transitional coalition

government" with the participation of left forces.

Most of the proposals were unacceptable to the administration. The government agreed to discuss only land reform and offered an "honourable amnesty" to the rebels. The talks became deadlocked and were broken off after the shooting of the peasant demonstration. The armistice was respected till its deadline.

Shortly after the referendum, on February 11, the troops were ordered to resume operations against the New People's Army.

The Manila Times blames the hawks in the army command and the extremists in the National Democratic Front leadership for the failure of the discussion on ways and means of achieving peace in the country and putting an end to internecine strife.

After the constitutional referendum a government delegation began talks with representatives of another, Moslem, rebel movement. Its units are active in the south of the archipelago under the leadership of the Moro National Liberation Front. The Moslems call for broad autonomy under the sovereignty of the Philippine Republic (the principle of autonomy is formalized in the new Constitution). The Front leaders are reported to have dropped their demands for the secession of the "Moslem lands" and the establishment of an independent state. However, sporadic clashes are reported in the southern island of Mindanao.

Nevertheless, the newly enacted Constitution is not a panacea in itself. It is merely a legal basis for the solution of the many problems besetting the country. President Aquino said in her first speech after the referendum that because of limited resources, "we cannot move at all fronts simultaneously, be it land reform, agricultural production, industrial growth, unemployment, infrastructure and national defence. Nor can we move with the speed and effectivity that the people desire." At the same time she stressed that the government would maintain a centrist position and crush manifestations of extremism.

ALEXEI PETROV

New Stage, New Forms

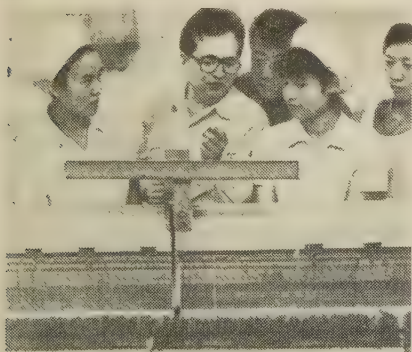
VICTOR SENIN, assistant head of the Department for Trade and Economic Relations with Asian Countries at the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Trade, discusses trade and economic links between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China with journalist **Leonid Pleshakov**.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU noted with satisfaction an improvement in the Soviet Union's relations with its great neighbour, socialist China. Although differences in approach remain, particularly on some international issues, the congress pointed out that in many cases the two countries can work jointly, cooperate on an equal and principled basis without detriment to third nations. The potentialities for cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and China are vast, indeed.

What is the state of foreign trade exchanges between the two countries now,

Soviet equipment has been installed at the Harbin Linen Factory, the P.R.C. Below: a Soviet expert introducing Chinese workers to production techniques.

Xinhua-TASS photo



almost a year after the 27th Party Congress?

In order better to assess the state of these relations and their prospects it would be useful to make a brief excursus into the past.

Trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C. have had their ups and downs. In the 1950s, after the formation of the P.R.C. our relations developed rapidly in various areas, peaking in 1959, when trade amounted to almost two billion rubles. Those years saw the growth of economic and technical cooperation along with large-scale trade. The result of this cooperation was the appearance of more than two hundred enterprises in China.

The Soviet Union supplied a large amount of plant and machinery, over 75 per cent of which went to fit out the above-mentioned enterprises. These included ferrous metallurgy, automobile and tractor industries, power stations, coal mines and factories manufacturing mining, hoisting, transportation, metallurgical and oil-refining equipment.

In addition to plant and machinery, the Soviet Union supplied China with considerable quantities of raw and other materials, including oil and petroleum products, rolled stock, piping, and various chemicals.

China, for its part, exported nonferrous metals, cotton, wool, soya beans, tea and other items.

In the latter half of the 1960s relations between the two countries in trade, economy, science and technology fell off dramatically. In 1970 mutual trade had dropped to 42 million rubles. Subsequently it registered a slight increase, hovering at around 200-300 million rubles by 1983. This, of course, was well

below the economic potentialities of the two countries.

How has Soviet-Chinese trade developed in recent years?

Trade and economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and China picked up in 1983-84. The signing of a series of agreements in 1984-85 was an important factor. On July 10, 1985, the first ever long-term Sino-Soviet agreement on trade and payments was signed. Under this agreement the volume of trade is expected to amount to 12 billion rubles over the period 1986-90. In 1990 it is to top three billion rubles. Trade has grown from roughly 490 million rubles in 1983 to just under a billion in 1984 and 1.6 billion in 1985, with a 13.5 per cent increase over the 1985 level in 1986.

Will trade between our countries proceed on the basis of long-term agreements only or will it take other forms as well?

Border trade between the U.S.S.R. and China, resumed in 1983, offers further possibilities for increasing mutual trade. At first, border trade was conducted between the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories and the Amur and Chita regions on the Soviet side, and Heilongjiang Province and Inner Mongolia on the Chinese side. This trade reached 30 million rubles in 1986. From 1986 border trade has also been conducted between the Soviet Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan and some regions of the Russian Federation and the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region on the Chinese side.

Thirty million rubles a year is not an enormous sum.

Certainly. But this is only the beginning of a new stage. It's the trend that matters.

There is a very potent argument in favour of promoting trade between the U.S.S.R. and the P.R.C.: the natural resources of the two countries are complementary. We have a lot of what China needs and China has what we need. There is indeed tremendous untapped potential for the development of mutually beneficial trade.

The Soviet Union supplies China with machines, equipment for its industry, and vehicles. Between 1981 and 1986 the P.R.C. imported from the U.S.S.R. 56 civilian aircraft, about 80,000 cars and trucks, and various mining, textile and power generating equipment. We also exported to China ferrous and nonferrous metals, timber, chemicals and other goods.

China's exports to the U.S.S.R. included tungsten concentrate, feldspar, meat and meat products, soya beans, cotton fabrics, garments and knitwear,

fruit, and other manufactured and agricultural products. At present both countries are exploring new avenues of trade and economic cooperation. Recently Soviet and Chinese foreign trade organizations signed a major contract for Soviet supplies of 7,500 railway cars to China in 1987-90 in return for standard parts for them.

Under an agreement for economic and technical cooperation signed in Moscow in 1985, seven new projects will be built in China and seventeen others, built with Soviet assistance in the 1950s, will be reconstructed. They include enterprises in ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, coal, chemical, and other industries.

During the visit to China in September 1986 of a Soviet delegation led by first deputy Premier Nikolai Talyzin, industrial cooperation, compensation (buy back) deals and joint ventures were named as expedient forms of cooperation for the future. The manufacture of goods for the Soviet Union from its raw materials will become a qualitatively new form of our relations with China.

For instance, the Soviet Union will send wool to China from which felt boots for the cold climate of Siberia and the Soviet Far East will be manufactured. China will also make fur coats for the eastern areas of the U.S.S.R. from Soviet-supplied raw materials. In yet another instance, we shall send silk-worm cocoons for processing into silk (China has a long-standing tradition of silk manufacturing).

From January 1 of this year, 22 ministries and 70 industrial associations in the Soviet Union will be allowed direct access to foreign markets. How will this affect our trade relations with China?

I think it will result in more thorough drafting of the contracts signed and make suppliers more responsible for the quality of goods and meeting delivery deadlines. Now the manufacturer-cum-supplier and not the Foreign Trade Ministry will be responsible for many products. This is likely to be an incentive to our enterprises to react more promptly to fluctuations in the world market and to explore ways of increasing the exports of Soviet goods to various countries, including China.

In conclusion I should like to stress that the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the Soviet Union and China in the trade and economic fields is an important contribution by both countries to the cause of peace and socialism.

Red Herring Across the Trail

From our special correspondent
BORIS KOZLOV

Bombs exploded on the Champs-Élysées, Paris, on September 17, 1986. By a strange coincidence, just two days later France Régions 3 television showed a film revealing the sources of the terrorism the whole nation is so concerned about. It followed from the commentary that terrorism had its roots in the East. Bulgarian international trailers were alleged to bring arms to France for local terrorists. At the TV commentators' estimate, there were some 40 trailers from the Bulgarian Mezhdunaroden Avtomobilni Transport (MAT) in France on the day the film was shown, with about half of them "having escaped police inspection." The film was garnished with an on-the-spot report from Marseilles which said that upon rolling off the Tsarevets ferry owned by Bulgaria's Medlink shipping company, Bulgarian trucks drove out of the port uninspected and were now "speeding along French roads."

The French police promptly applied itself to Bulgarian trucks, stopping them, giving them a thorough going-over and rummaging through the drivers' bags.

Arms

For some time now the words "Bulgaria" and "terrorism" have been linked in the Western media. True, years of looking for "Bulgarian connection No. 1" in the streets of Rome have never brought any evidence of that socialist country's involvement in terrorism. And now millions of TV viewers could see "Bulgarian connection No. 2" with their own eyes. This time though, verbal accusations were likewise refuted by facts. The trucks had got through the customs, after all, and it was with the customs authorities' permission that they "sped along the French roads."

"Before we left the port of Marseilles, all the papers, including international truck registration certificates, waybills and our passports were checked by border police and customs officials who also inspected and sealed the freight. It was only upon the completion of

these formalities that we were issued permits to proceed to our destinations," foreign newsmen were told in Sofia by Josef Todorov, the driver of trailer TIR No. AM0067 who has been driving around Europe, Asia and Africa for over eleven years.

We newsmen asked Todorov a few questions.

"Can you think of any Bulgarian truck driver ever having been detained for carrying something not mentioned in the waybill?"

"No, I can't—and I've been driving international trailers since the age of 19, you know."

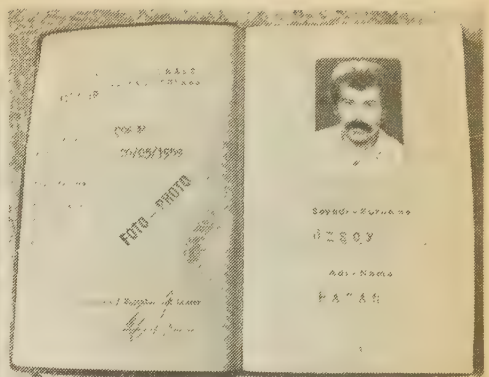
"Can you deviate from your route in the territory of a foreign country?"

"No. The route is specified on the international route ticket and registered with the appropriate border checkpoint of the receiver country. Prior to departure, the customs change your entry ticket to an exit one. Besides, we are supposed to proceed along the route strictly according to schedule. Upon arrival at the destination, the freight is again inspected by customs officers."

If the TV story was just another fabrication, how was it that the French

Vitaly Boyarov, first deputy chief of the State Customs Control Administration of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, comments:

"For some time now the Western media have been accusing socialist countries of involvement in international terrorism and attempts to undermine the stability of the 'free world' through arms and drug smuggling. Symptomatically, these charges are being levelled at a time when we are making vigorous efforts for practical cooperation with government and business organizations in the countries where drugs are illicitly manu-



Bulgarian customs officers found a hiding place for contraband drugs in the tow-bar of Hasan Özsoy's trailer.

Hasan Özsoy's driving licence showed that the contraband had come from Turkey.

police swallowed the TV bait? After all, it started its wild goose chase after "Bulgarian arms smugglers" while the programme was on the air.

It must be said that the FR 3 programme was of extremely poor quality. Judge for yourselves. A masked man, with even his eyes concealed by dark glasses, was introduced as a "Bulgarian truck driver." Speaking Bulgarian with a strong foreign accent, the "driver" said he had carried arms from France to Iraq in his refrigerator, although the waybill specified chickens. On second thoughts, however, he changed his story; now he said he was carrying chickens from France and that Bulgarian frontier guards had replaced them with arms on his way to Iraq.

Even if we take his word for it, the arms were intended for Iraq rather than France. But can you imagine a truckload

of arms passing all the border checkpoints uninspected and unhindered? Bulgarian trucks did appear on the screen from time to time but only to give the narrator a chance to make comments such as: "The fact that they are taking arms to the Middle East is noteworthy, but of no great consequence."

Of no great consequence, indeed! Arms were delivered to the region, but details as to where they came from and who sent them were brought out by the "Irangate" scandal, i.e., in October. As for the FR 3 TV channel, it had started working on the film back in May in an obvious attempt to find another mythical "Bulgarian connection"—or, more likely, to drag a red herring across the real trail—the French connection included.

The French public did not give much

credence to the FR 3 "exposé." Nor did experts; one of them said the "Bulgarian connection" story sounded too simple to be true. He said he was convinced that France was involved in a dangerous game connected with the Iran-Iraq conflict. It was supplying arms to the belligerents as evidenced by the following facts: since 1980 France had delivered to Iraq \$50 million worth of arms and in 1986 granted that country a large credit to purchase weapons. This fact was reported by the press in many countries, Bulgaria included. According to the above-mentioned expert, France dispatched to Iran 150,000 artillery shells in October 1985, and supplied Iraq with the Super-Etendard bombers and the Exocet missiles which later hit oil fields and sank oil tankers.

They say that the belligerents would have been unable to carry on if they

factured or sold. This evil can be suppressed. An international organization, the Customs Cooperation Council (CCC) representing over 100 countries, has been combating it for forty years. The CCC has elaborated important international documents to regulate joint customs procedures, and is dealing with the problems associated with the use of customs equipment.

"Soviet and foreign papers reported last August that the F.R.G. customs had confiscated a large consignment of heroin on its way from the Middle East to Western Europe via the territory of the U.S.S.R. Why not acquaint the countries

concerned with the methods used to clamp down on drug traffic? We are eager to cooperate with customs authorities in Holland, Pakistan, Indo-China, France and the other countries through which this traffic passes.

"I must say that many of our foreign colleagues are also showing interest in such cooperation, and are even making active efforts to bring it about. Setting up a reliable international barrier in the way of the drug traffic is a costly business. Instead of concentrating on that, the West is determined to

denigrate our joint efforts, to present socialist countries as 'accomplices in world terrorism,' and to cast aspersions on the socialist community.

"Last year the customs officials at Moscow's Sheremetyevo international airport alone detained 25 transit drug traffickers—citizens of Britain and Pakistan, India, Senegal and Switzerland, Syria and the United States. The detainees carried large amounts of dope: one tried to smuggle through a vacuum flask containing two kilos of heroin, and another a few cartons of it weighing a total of five kilos. In all likelihood, these "goods" were intended for and

had no arms. But *Le Figaro* admits that supplying weapons to the two countries is not much more difficult than supplying drugs from the Middle East to Italy, France and the Scandinavian countries—probably along the same channels.

This circumstance does not dismay the authors of the "Bulgarian connection" theory in the least. Although their arguments are obviously flawed, they are doggedly trying to impress on the public the idea that the Bulgarian trucking company is an instrument of terrorism—manipulated by Moscow, of course. In July 1986 a resolution on applying economic and political sanctions against the People's Republic of Bulgaria was tabled in the U.S. Senate, but "Irangate" intervened, and the legislators had other fish to fry.

Drugs

A Turkish frontier guard waves on a heavily loaded Mercedes truck, and it crosses into Bulgaria. What is inside?

We shall learn the answer from the waybill in a moment... Meanwhile millions of Europeans are listening to a newscaster telling them, for the umpteenth time, that socialist countries, including Bulgaria, aid and abet the smuggling of drugs into Western Europe and the U.S. by providing "gaps" in their frontiers for the drug traffic to slip through. Apart from mercenary considerations, this is done as part of the scheme to undermine, by hook or by crook, the prosperous "free world."

This, specifically, was what the Free Europe radio station said last autumn in a broadcast accusing Bulgaria of international terrorism—this time in the form of drug trafficking.

Bulgaria is a place where intercontinental as well as European trade routes intersect. Endless streams of trucks enter the country on their way west or in the

opposite direction—to Turkey and other countries in the Middle East. Bulgarian trailers operated by MAT with its headquarters in Sofia also ply between Turkey, Syria, Iran, Iraq and other countries, and Western Europe. Nearly 2,000 Bulgarian trailers cross the Bulgarian-Turkish border through this particular checkpoint every month. Are drugs smuggled through at this point?

Border guards told me that drugs do cross the Bulgarian border, but Bulgaria has nothing to do with it. For example: customs officers have just found 19.8 kilos of heroin in the above-mentioned Mercedes truck on its way to the F.R.G. via Bulgaria. Twelve packets weighing 12.1 kilos between them were detected in the truck tractor's tow-bar, and 14 packets with a total weight of 7.7 kilos in the trailer's air tank. It was a big consignment. Who owned it?

The driver—Hasan Özsoy, 27, a Turkish citizen residing in the F.R.G.—admitted to being a drug smuggler. The packets of heroin, he said, had been stowed in his trailer in Istanbul by a certain "Muhammed," an Iranian living in Turkey. The packets were to have been delivered to a parking lot in Graz, Austria, where Muhammed was waiting to pick them up. Hasan's fee was 50,000 deutsche marks. The truck was hired from an F.R.G. rental company. Such deals are common practice.

A. Foiht, an Austrian citizen, tried to smuggle 29 kilos of heroin from Istanbul to Vienna in May 1984. Now he is doing time in a Sofia jail, and Hasan is risking the same fate. Under Bulgarian law the crime committed by the driver of the Turkish trailer carries up to 15 years in jail and a fine of 20,000 leva. The vehicle used for smuggling is confiscated irrespective of its provenance. In compliance with the appropriate U.N. convention, the Bulgarian authorities in-

form interested states about such incidents right away.

"This is only natural," Todor Tsvetkov, deputy chief of the Bulgarian customs administration, told me in his Sofia office. "No government—be it that of France, the F.R.G., or the U.S.—can cope with the drug traffic on its own. A concerted international effort is required here. Although we have been actively fighting this evil for decades, the West accuses us of being involved in drug smuggling. The U.S. administration has even come up with statistics on the relative amounts of the drugs we confiscate and let through. I wonder where it gets its information. Unfortunately, we don't know ourselves the exact amount of drugs traffickers manage to slip through Bulgaria. This information is available only to those who receive the consignments... What we do know is how much contraband poison we have confiscated over the 18 years of our anti-drug smuggling campaign: the figure is over 1,000 kilos."

"What countries do the drugs go to?"

"The international underground drug traffic routes lead ultimately to the U.S. Drugs fetch the highest prices there. We know well enough who sells the drugs, who receives them in Europe and the U.S., and what the delivery routes are."

* * *

To sum up, what we have here is a new attempt to present socialist countries as leaders of international terrorism, which are also smuggling arms and drugs into the "free world" with the diabolical intention of destroying it. The Eastern bloc's objective, the *Washington Post* explains, is to destabilize NATO.

In his January report, the U.S. Secretary of Defence concentrated on the theme of "red terrorism." Weinberger branded as "terrorist" all national liberation movements, of which, he claimed, terrorism and illicit drug trading were inalienable features.

The Defence Secretary is trying to put the public onto another "communist connection." There are indications of the Russians and their accomplices using both of these "features," he implied. This is not a private obsession of his own. The anti-socialist shows staged by the Western press, radio and television are inspired by official anti-communism.

Sofia-Moscow

sent by the very parties who slander us and groundlessly accuse us of committing international crimes.

"An attempt was made last November to smuggle a consignment of hashish from Pakistan to Holland through the U.S.S.R. The batch was confiscated by Moscow customs officials, who reported the incident to colleagues in Amsterdam. The matter is now under investigation and we cannot therefore name the smugglers for the moment. Even in this case certain Dutch politicians found it appropriate to try and compromise the Soviet Union and accuse it of clandestine drug trafficking.

And this regardless of the fact that we have created sophisticated techniques for identifying such contraband in the endless stream of containers—running into millions—that crosses our country. The problem is to apply our methods of monitoring these containers along their routes. This is an extremely difficult problem the solution of which requires joint efforts. Nevertheless, we are inclined to think that certain circles in the West would rather use the situation to further their political ends than try to protect the interests of their own citizens and the entire world community."

About Raimonds Pauls

The poet Janis Peters is the author of these notes
about the well-known Latvian composer

The records show that Raimonds Pauls was a student of the Riga Conservatory from 1953 to 1958. At the entrance exams he played a Bach Prelude and Fugue, the first movement of Beethoven's B-major sonata, Prokofiev's "Juliet," and a Rachmaninov Prelude, for which he earned good marks and this comment by Professor Zosts: "The performance testifies to an unquestionable ability. Particular attention should be devoted in future to problems of execution." This was followed by high marks for all obligatory subjects: solfeggio, musical theory, harmony, musical literature.

Pauls graduated from the conservatory. His father was not present at Raimonds' final examination and concert. He was evidently annoyed by something. But his fellow-workers at the textile mill where he was employed were there. Later they told him: "We wept when your son played."

When still a conservatory student Raimonds Pauls evinced a keen interest in light music. He wanted not only to make his mark in it but to pioneer in what for Latvia was a new genre. This was subconsciously manifested in his jazz improvisations and in his performances of the classics, and in his own compositions as well. But his first lyrical songs composed ten or 11 years after the most terrible of wars with its concomitant of tragedies, including erosion of the spirit, were also evidence of a creative, trailblazing mission, although Raimonds Pauls himself would never put it in these terms. Finally, this mission is discernible also in his arrangements of folk songs, choral and theatrical music which carry forward the tradition of the father of the Latvian theatre, Adolfs Alunans.

What I want to say is that conservatory graduate Pauls was in 1958 already on the way to serious work. Russian 19th-century literary critic Belinsky once

said of Béranger: "Béranger's songs express the essence of the national spirit of France."

In citing Belinsky I am not suggesting that his words can be mechanically applied to Raimonds Pauls and Latvia. The time is different and, unlike Béranger, Pauls is not a poet. Nevertheless there is an analogy. Pauls has raised the prestige of the song among the broadest sections of the people, frankly and honestly admitting that the monumental genres are not for him. But stop! At this point one should not venture to say what is within his powers, what he is capable of producing. Perhaps he does not even know himself. But what he has done with the song could have been done only by a dedicated musician with a thorough grounding in all the musical genres. Let us put it this way: academism, taste and the fundamentals of technique he acquired in music school and the conservatory, i.e., in heaven, so to speak, while his virtuoso performance and unrestrained manner at the keyboard he acquired in dance halls, i.e., in Hades. It was this Pauls—abused and well-educated, defiant and talented, deplored and esteemed—who in 1958 closed behind him the door of the conservatory founded by Jazeps Vītols. Had anyone told him then that 22 years later he would return to this building, at 22 Krisjanis Barons Street, as a stern and demanding teacher, he would have dismissed such a prophet as a psychopathic case. But he would have been still more amazed had he been told that he would be taken on by a man with whom in his student days he had played in an amateur light music orchestra—Imants Kokars, now the rector of the conservatory.

In art everything depends on the personality of the artist. People flock to his concerts not so much to hear jazz as to hear the famous light music composer Raimonds Pauls. And finding

themselves at a jazz concert, they listen and possibly discover something new for themselves.

In my opinion the influence of Raimonds Pauls' work on the development of our music has yet to be properly studied and analyzed by our musicologists. But knowing Raimonds Pauls, knowing the progression of his influence, education and maturity as an artist, knowing the composer's taste, his attitude to art and life, knowing also something about his inner rhythms, his interests and his temperament, I shall take the liberty of underscoring what in my opinion has made him what he is.

Nothing comes out of nothing. This is true of any art, any music—complex or simple, serious or light. Music bestows life and warmth on each and everyone—the fortunate and the unfortunate, the young and the old, the beautiful and the ugly, the hero and the mediocrity, the genius and the fool. On all people under the sun who sing the praises of music. Ave sol! Our hymn to music never ceases, even on the dreariest, most depressing days. We sing of the sun when chill north winds blow and blizzards rage. Song leaps to our lips, bringing warmth with it. And that song is passed on from one to another, from generation to generation. One day Pauls will write the music for a gigantic chorus. For a massive folk chorus. And the fact that the composer of light music Raimonds Pauls turned to choral music will be assessed as a phenomenal event in Latvia's musical life of the 1970s.

As far as I know, George Gershwin is a composer for whom Raimonds Pauls cherishes a deep respect. I believe it is precisely Gershwin's democratism in music, his ability always to produce something new while being inseparably linked with the life-giving wellspring of folk music that strengthens Pauls' confidence in the correctness of the path he has chosen.

"Sister Carrie" was Raimonds Pauls' first musical. Here is what musicologist Olgerts Gravītis has to say on this score: "With characteristic maximalism, and without any special preliminary preparation, the composer has blazed an extremely important and contemporary trail in this genre. 'Sister Carrie' puts him in a class with—I do not hesitate to make the comparison—world renowned composers of the second half of the 20th century. It is on a level with the outstanding musical stage produc-

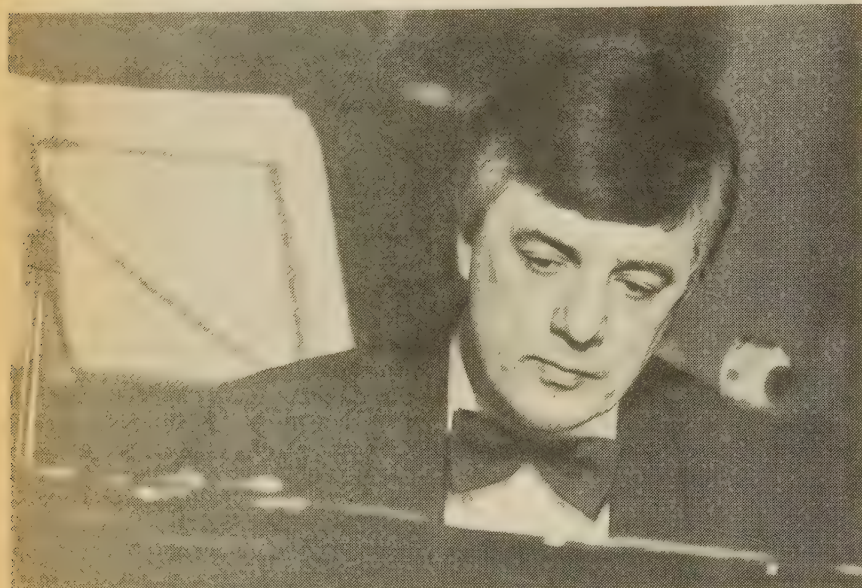
tions created by Leonard Bernstein and Frederick Loewe."

How do poets and composers work together? Differently in each given case, I would say. The ways in which songs are born differ as much as do the talents and personality of the poets and the composers.

In writing songs Raimonds Pauls and I have at least two methods: we begin either with the verse or with the music. Frankly speaking, I feel that most of my verses are not consonant with Pauls' ideas and objectives in music. That is why he has never "touched" them. In general Pauls and I are totally different in character. With my slowness, my in-

music. But are the composers of that music to blame? What about the radio and television editors, the propagandists of music, the organizers of musical life? Why dig into the files of recordings in search of classical and serious modern music for their programme when they can put on a song hit just used by a colleague next door? Hence light music figures everywhere, whether it is appropriate or not. And everyone blames the composer, and not the negligent and, forgive me, the often none too competent editor and administrator. The fault also lies with the critics. . . .

Raimonds Pauls has no patience with one-sidedness, inertia. Some people consider his penchant for new genres,



accuracy, my rustic sense of rhythm I am the exact opposite of him. This has not prevented us from collaborating for many years, and indeed from being good friends. I admire his power of concentration, his ability to make the most of his time, to be abrupt and caustic and at the same time democratic and tolerant.

The writing of lyrics for songs is a double-edged sword. Now that other poets also write for Raimonds Pauls the situation has changed. Formerly I wrote most of his lyrics, and for that reason I was conscious of being regarded with something like hidden mockery. On the one hand, there was the recognition of audiences for the most part without any particular musical education, and, on the other, the disapproval of those who dislike light music and resent the fuss made over Pauls. I understand such people, yet I defend Pauls against undeserved attacks. Undeserved, because in my opinion an important detail is lost sight of in this context. Let me try to explain briefly what I mean.

Yes, I agree that light music occupies a very prominent place in modern

and concert forms, his collaboration now with one now with another poet, singer or band to be ruthlessness on his part. That may be so, but that is his natural condition as an artist—a constant, sleepless search for new summits to conquer. And that is the secret of his success.

I am sometimes asked about mutual inspiration. I do not know how to answer. What inspires me personally is the musical and, perhaps even more, the social role of Raimonds Pauls' personality. I am inspired by his basic striving, the striving for enduring music that allots an auxiliary role to music written purely for entertainment. I am inspired by the fact that he is a worthy representative of our people among other peoples. Precisely because of this new opportunities are opening for Pauls to express himself, to create new music and to assume new responsibilities.

I recall a European cruise Raimonds and I took on board the Mikhail Kalinin, organized by the Soviet Peace Committee. It was Raimonds' second cruise of this kind, and my first. But it is not of Hamburg and Lübeck, Stock-

holm and Copenhagen, Gdansk and Warnemünde that I wish to speak, but of the great affection the passengers of the Mikhail Kalinin showed for the Latvian composer. He was recognized by people from all parts of the Soviet Union, not only from the big cities but also from the countryside, the villages and auls. Our group of 300 had just gathered at Klaipeda port at the start of the cruise when a Kazakh girl came up to me and with a note of incredulity in her voice asked, "Is it true that Raimonds Pauls himself is on board?" We put out to sea at night but the very next morning at breakfast and during walks on deck Raimonds was "identified" by all. Ordinary workers from Siberia asked him to drop into their cabin some evening. The captain personally invited Pauls to visit him and placed the ship's sauna at our disposal. Everyone had a kind word to say to him, there was no dearth of smiles, best wishes and advice. . . . Passengers from the various republics arranged their own musical evenings on board. Our Latvian evening was a great success. And not because of Peters' poetry, but because of Raimonds Pauls and the singer Vladimir Okun. As we sailed past Hamlet's castle, the Latvian composer played, and the wind carried his music into the sea of time.

Pauls is not static. He changes, like nature, like the forest with the alternation of the seasons. . . . Nature reacts to everything, good and bad. So does the artist to changes in society. Does this apply to the composer of light music? After all, by its very nature, as has been said, this genre is "not the pathfinder in music but is oriented on the familiar, the well known." I believe this is only partly true, and that a differentiated approach has to be taken in each given instance. If serious musicologists have repeatedly appraised Pauls' work now as phenomenal, now as the "triumph of a bold spirit," now as the heroic work of a "healer of the folk song," we ought to take a similar attitude. For, in my opinion, the opinion of a poet, Pauls' music often can be said to "belong to everybody" and cannot be classified strictly as light or serious music. Evidently his light music too is a blend of both.

Only the calendar would tell us exactly when spring begins and winter ends, when spring ends and summer begins. Actually no such borderline exists, and if it does, it is only as the gradual transition from one condition to another. And that is for the artist to express. Raimonds Pauls conveys that transition in his music. Pauls is an outspoken person, sometimes rather sharp-tongued, sometimes a little crude, sometimes mocking. But he is never hypocritical. Neither in public nor in his own assessment of himself.

The Muse of Melina Mercouri

In my office at Izvestia there is a photograph of a woman in a long red dress with a wide black belt. Her flaming auburn hair hangs loosely on her shoulders and her right hand is raised. The enormous, slightly protuberant almond eyes burn with anger. Her entire frame seems to vibrate with anger, the spirit of anger and vengeance of the ancient Furies. The photograph is signed "From Melina Mercouri."

Never will I forget the day that photograph was taken. It was in London in April 1968, in the hall of the Grosvenor House Hotel. Exiled from Greece by the junta of the Black Colonels, Melina Mercouri was holding a press conference. And what a press conference! It left everyone staggered.

"Is civil war possible in Greece?" she was asked.

"No, it is impossible. Civil war presupposes a nation divided. There is no such divide in Greece. The whole people is united by a common hatred of the junta. Were it not for outside support, the colonels would never have held on so long."

"So there won't be civil war in Greece?"

"There won't. What there will be is an uprising that will sweep away the junta, those mad illiterate gangsters, those parodies of Hitler."

"That means you favour violence?"

"Every drop of Greek blood is precious to me. I shudder at the very thought of fratricide. But if the choice has to be made between slavery and death, we shall fight. I'll be the first on the barricades, the first to come out against Papadopoulos's tanks!"

"What do you think of King Constantine?"

"He is not a man. For eight months he collaborated with the junta, handing it, in effect, the keys to the country, and then he fled with his entire household, taking with him even the royal gynaecologist. They say he is a sailor and yachtsman, even an Olympic medalist. But I would never set foot on his boat. It would make me sick..."

A person's style, they say, reflects his character. That short excerpt from the memorable press conference reflects the character of Melina Mercouri—one of Greece's greatest daughters. She spent over seven years in exile. The junta stripped her of her citizenship "for

anti-Greek activities abroad," as the official bulletin read. It fell to my lot to witness many stages of this "anti-Greek activity," and I saw Melina Mercouri not just as a patriot, but as an embodiment of Greece. She spoke for the country, just as Mikis Theodorakis sang for it, and Iannis Ritsos wrote his verses. (When the junta began to fear that Ritsos might die in prison, he was given "freedom" on condition that he remained absolutely silent. Melina observed: "If you call that democracy, if you call that freedom, then I am a banana tree.")

I remember another press conference, this time in New York.

"Members of the Greek Embassy in Washington came to see me and ordered me to shut up," Mercouri said. "They had the nerve to suggest that I return to Greece to see that happiness reigns there! Just think of it—happiness in prison, a 'happy' Hellas in the chains of fascism."

Someone asked her whether it was true that she was about to take out U.S. citizenship.

"I am a Greek by birth and I shall die a Greek," replied Mercouri proudly. "Mr Paffakos [the junta's Minister of the Interior—M.S.] was born a fascist and will die a fascist. If he wants to turn me into a Joan of Arc, that is his affair. Since a dictatorship exists in Greece, he can introduce any law he likes, but I regard him as an outlaw."

Melina Mercouri hated fascism with all the force of Euripides' Medea, and called for freedom with the strength of Nike Samothrace. The world-famous film star was once described as Greece's greatest attraction after the Parthenon. But for the Greek people neither the Parthenon nor Mercouri are attractions; they are flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone.

My mind goes back again to that April in London in 1968. Trafalgar Square. Carried high over the crowd by the strong hands of Greek emigrant students, Melina Mercouri hurled thunder and lightning on the junta.

"Papadopoulos is an illiterate gangster. That self-appointed colonel and prime minister claims that Greece needs surgery and that he himself is prepared to perform the operation."

Trafalgar Square was in an uproar. The indignation was such that even

Nelson Column seemed to shake in the onslaught. Melina Mercouri continued her indictment: "What vital organ does Mr Papadopoulos propose to remove from Greece? Its heart? That is the only way he can stifle Greece's love of freedom. It is far too deeply rooted in our hearts! Or maybe he wants to bludgeon the brain of Hellas, the brain in which the ideas of democracy originated? Or is he hastening to break its bones? But believe me, even that will not be enough, for the love of freedom goes to the very marrow in Greece! Stop imagining you are a surgeon, Mr Papadopoulos! You are an ordinary butcher and executioner! But remember: Greece has seen and survived many tyrants. They have turned to ashes, but our freedom has always risen from the ashes!"

Yes, style does indeed reflect character.

Describing the photograph of Melina Mercouri in my Izvestia office, I failed to mention one important detail—the black badge on the red dress. It shows Prometheus chained to a cliff and the eagle gnawing at the liver of the Titan who brought fire to mankind...

Many years later I saw Melina Mercouri in Moscow. She had come as an exile no longer, but as Minister of Culture of a free Greece for the opening of the exhibition the "Restoration of the Acropolis" in Moscow's State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts. A press conference was held at the Soviet Ministry of Culture. Melina Mercouri was wearing a severely cut suit, without any jewelry. But looking at her, I would not help but remember the woman in the red dress with the black Prometheus badge. It was not just a trick of the imagination. Her status might have changed, but she herself had remained the same—wise and temperamental, gentle and unyielding. She had remained a fighter, a fighter who never accepted compromise.

Mercouri's name figures among the list of foundation members of such democratic organizations as the Greek Cultural Movement, the Movement of Democratic Women, and the Pan-Hellenic Committee for International Détente and Peace. At her Moscow press conference she spoke of her people's happiness that "two demiurgi of contemporary Greek culture"—the poet Iannis Ritsos and the composer Mikis Theodorakis—had been awarded the International Lenin Prize "For the Promotion of Peace Among Nations."

"The Soviet Union and Greece," Melina said, "maintain close cultural and historical ties, which started many centuries ago. We shed our blood in the struggle against fascism."



Melina Mercouri in the British Museum, admiring a relic from antiquity taken out of Greece.

TASS photo

Melina Mercouri no longer stars in films, nor does she appear on the stage. (What a pity that she never achieved her ambition to play the part of Rosa Luxemburg.) But she remains closely associated with the arts, if only because she defends them from the forces of war, from commercialism, triviality and vulgarity. Her voice is never silent, it rings out to drown the guns, and prevent the blast of nuclear weapons. The opening of the "Restoration of the Acropolis" exhibition in Moscow coincided with the start of an arts festival of the West European countries in Athens. Melina Mercouri was one of its sponsors. Here is what she had to say about its political "undertones," or, if you prefer, its overriding political aims: "We believe that these countries should exchange not only potatoes and tomatoes, but also cultural treasures.... Perhaps it is wishful thinking on my part, but I feel that the Athens festival could

be the first practical step on the way to the main goal—the day when we, the representatives of European and world culture, can unite to voice our support for an improvement in the international situation, which is still very tense today. I am convinced that the arts offer a wide field for action to strengthen security and cooperation between peoples. People should talk to one another in the language of the arts, not that of weapons."

The Italian paper *Il Messaggero* described Mercouri's current activities as the third act in the play of her life after the theatre and films. The idea is seductive, but it is not true. Melina Mercouri's life cannot be divided into acts, it is a single integral whole—for there have been no interludes.

Today she is fighting again, fighting for the return to Greece of its cultural monuments, and every bit as fiercely as she fought earlier for

the return of freedom. She is attacking the Louvre, demanding the return of Nike Samothrace, and the British Museum, for that of the Elgin Marbles—the treasures of the Parthenon taken out of Greece by Lord Elgin.

In London there is a monument to Byron at the corner of Hyde Park. On April 19, 1968, the 144th anniversary of the death of the great English poet at Missolonghi who was so passionate a champion of the national liberation movement in Greece, Melina Mercouri laid a wreath at the foot of the monument. The wreath bore Byron's words on it: "I dreamed that Greece might still be free." For several minutes Melina stood and prayed.

"What for?" I asked her after the ceremony had ended.

"For the same thing," she replied, "for the freedom of Greece."

The freedom of Greece. That embraces independence, culture and peace. During the war, when Hitler's armies occupied Greece, Manolis Glezos tore down the fascist flag from the Acropolis. On March 22, 1984, Melina Mercouri unveiled a memorial plaque on the Acropolis. It read: Acropolis—Peace—Civilization. That day saw the beginning of the movement the Acropolis Appeal for Peace, Life and Disarmament. Thousands of people took part in the meeting at the Parthenon. It was followed by a minute's silence. Then Mercouri spoke.

"Much," she said, "can happen in a single minute. The whole world could be wiped off the face of the earth."

"You think I am an actress by profession? No, I am a Greek by profession and I know of none more noble. I am as much a part of Greece, as its land and stones, its seas and skies," she told me.

She was born in Athens. For a quarter of a century her grandfather was mayor of the city, and her father represented it in parliament. Melina is also a member of parliament—she represents the working people of Piraeus—the sea gateway to Athens.

Initially she won the hearts of her people as a film actress. The film "Never on a Sunday," made by her husband and friend the American film director Jules Dassin, brought her worldwide fame. Then she was revered as Pallas Athena, the ambassadress of an enslaved Greece in exile. Today Melina Mercouri speaks for the new Greece.

MELOR STURUA

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The Decembrists in Irkutsk



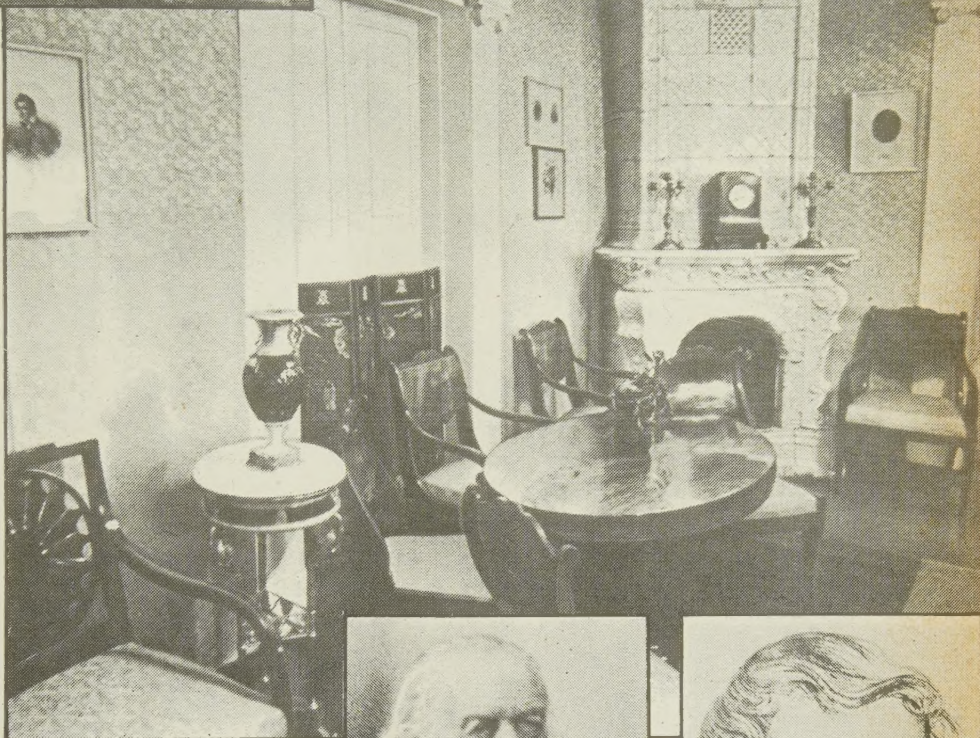
Polar Star was the title of a literary almanach put out in the twenties of last century by the Decembrists Bestuzhev and Ryleyev. It published Pushkin's freedom-loving poems, the biting satire of Griboyedov and Krylov, the works of the poets Baratynsky and Vyazemsky. Later Herzen revived publication of the Polar Star.

For nearly 10 years now a series of collections of the writings, articles and letters of the Decembrists have been appearing in Irkutsk under the same name. It is not by chance that the Siberians hold the spiritual heritage of the first Russian revolutionaries in such high esteem. It was to Irkutsk Region that Volkonsky, Trubetskoy, Davydov, Muravyov and other famous Decembrists were exiled.

The hardships of exile and penal servitude, their personal tragedies did not break the spirit of these courageous men and women. They opened schools and libraries, rendered medical aid to the local population, and fought for humane conditions for exiles and those condemned to hard labour. Public readings, children's fêtes and theatrical performances were held in the homes of the Trubetskoyes and other Decembrists.

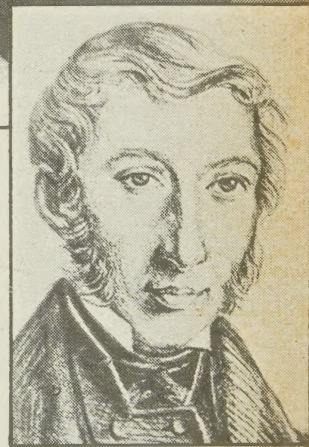
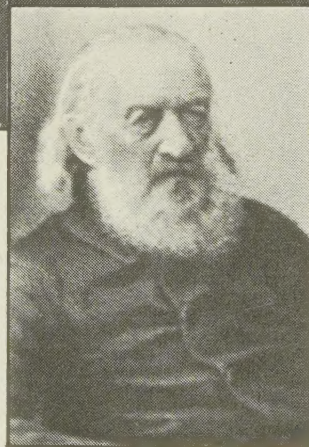
Today the former Trubetskoy house is the centre of a memorial complex dedicated to the Decembrists. Their personal belongings, furniture, and the household utensils used in those distant years are collected here. Musical and literary evenings, and talks on new findings relating to the activities of the Decembrists in Siberia are frequently held in this house.

For the publication of literature on the Decembrist movement Irkutsk occupies first place in the U.S.S.R. There is a growing demand for books on this subject. Orders for the Polar Star series have come from Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and scientific libraries in Paris, New York and Tokyo.



● The Trubetskoy house, centre of the Decembrist memorial.

● The drawing room in the Trubetskoy house where the exiled Decembrists used to gather.

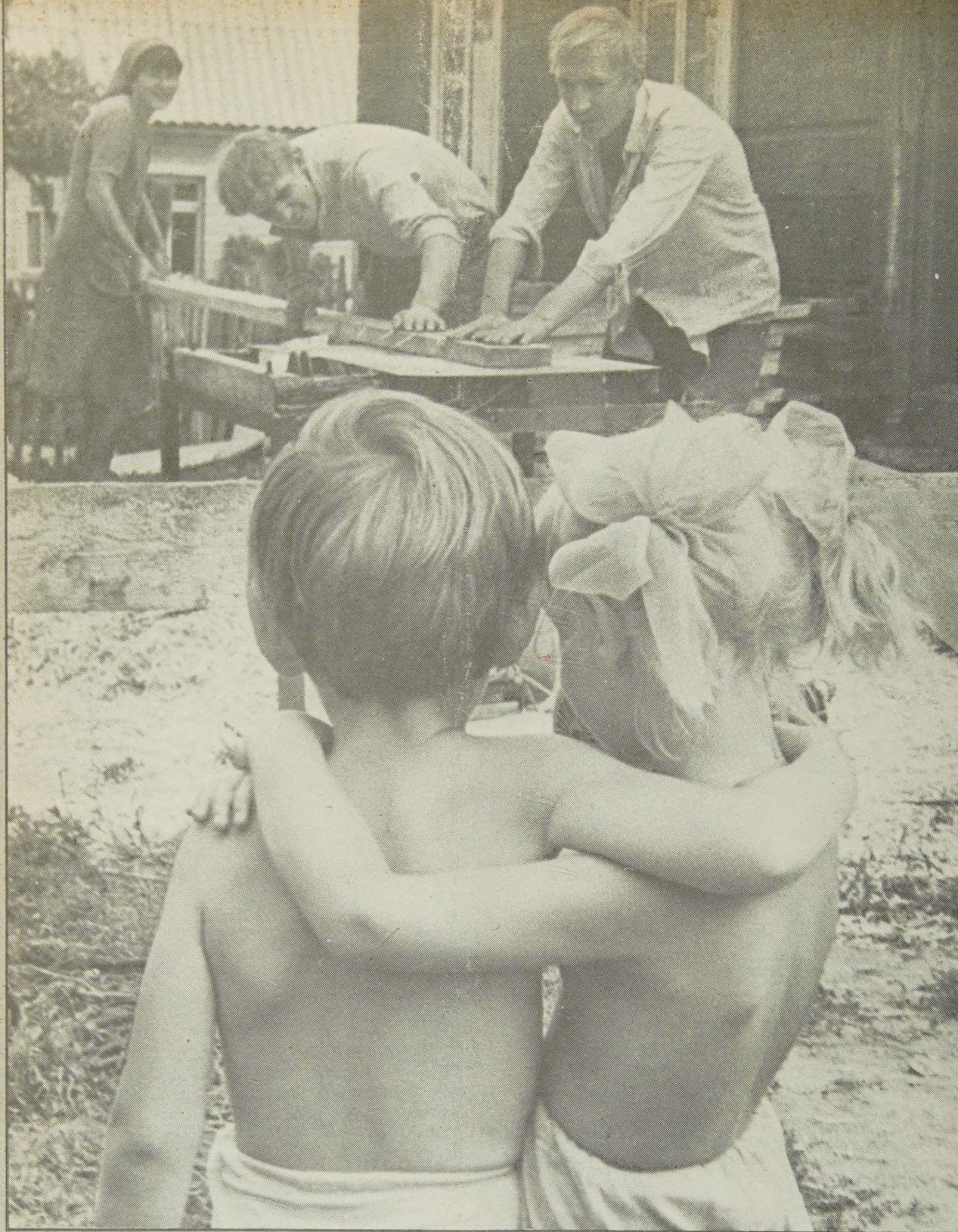


● Portraits of the Decembrists Volkonsky and Trubetskoy who were exiled to Irkutsk.



● One of the museum exhibits—a toilet case which belonged to Yekaterina Trubetskaya.

Photos by K. Kokoshkin



"Bride and Groom."

Martin Prokopovich (U.S.S.R.)



INTERNATIONAL CONTEST

MAN AND MANKIND